



Pondering over the destiny of the Nation

10TH JULY 1964

# Adibasi

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## Jawaharlal Nehru on the Tribal People

The people of the tribal areas and the hills attract me greatly and deserve our very special care. I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguish them in many ways.

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I am alarmed when I see—not only in this country but in other great countries too—how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image or likeness and to impose on them their particular way of living. We are welcome to our way of living, but why impose it on others? This applies equally to national and international fields. In fact, there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from imposing their way of living on other people and countries.

I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain their's is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make of them a secend-rate copy of ourselves.

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I came across the tribal people first, rather distantly, in various parts of India other than the North-East Frontier. These tribes were the Gonds, the Santals and the Bhils. I was attracted to them and liked them and I had a feeling that we should help them to grow in their own way.

Later, I came in touch with the tribal people of the North-East Frontier of India, more especially of the Hill Districts of Assam. My liking for them grew and with it came respect. I had no sensation of superiority over them. My ideas were not clear at all, but I felt that we should avoid two extreme courses: one was to treat them as anthropological specimens for study and the other was to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity. These reactions were instinctive and not based on any knowledge or experience. Later, in considering various aspects of these

problems and in discussing them with those who knew much more than I did, more definite ideas took shape in my mind and I began to doubt how far the normal idea of progress was beneficial for these people and, indeed, whether this was progress at all in any real sense of the word. It was true that they could not be left cut off from the world as they were. Political and economic forces impinged upon them and it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable, it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture, which had so much of good in them.

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We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:—

(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

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The smile that cheered millions.

1000 m²





Spared by affliction



With tribal dances from Orissa



Her was one among them



A happy moment in Orissa (with Shri B. Patnaik, Chairman,  
Planning Board).

EDITOR, G. N. DAS, I.A.S.

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# ADIBASI

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## WELL-BEING BACKWARD CLASSES IN THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN A BRIEF APPRAISAL FROM INDIA

According to the 1951 Census of Orissa the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes population was 2,987,134 and 2,630,763 respectively out of the total population of 14,640,940. Thus the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste constituted 20.2 per cent and 18.0 per cent respectively of the total population. According to the 1961 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste are 4,221,771 and 3,763,878 constituting 24.07 per cent and 5.14 per cent of the total population of 17,546,846. This has been an increase of 52 per cent. The Scheduled Tribe population whereas the increase in the case of Scheduled Caste population is 7.16 per cent. The higher percentage in respect of Scheduled Tribes population is due to the fact that a few more communities of the Scheduled Tribes had by an order of the President in 1956. There are at present as many as 62 tribes in the State. There is a heavy concentration of tribes in the four districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundergarh, Koraput and Phulbani and the agency of Ganjam district. The tribal

population in these areas coming to a total of 2,461,000. These areas constituting 94 per cent of the tribal Scheduled Tribe population constitute the scheduled area of the State.

In the year 1964, the tribes of India can be classified into the following categories: (1) Tribes, (2) primitive tribes, (3) tribes, (4) Adivasi tribes and (5) Adivasi tribes. The first category of tribes are of living in inaccessible fully tribal with their distinct way of living. The forces of change have not penetrated into these areas and the various development and programmes in the last ten years have not touched them.

The second category consists of tribes with an ordinary primitive technology. The tribes in this category live at the foot of the hills. They carry on some amount of wet cultivation on beds of their villages. While retaining their tribal characteristics, they have acquired some of the cultural traits of their non-tribal neighbours. The indigenized tribes have lost their original tribal

characteristics are, have been integrated into the basic structure of the sentence. The so-called ultimate fibres can also be described as a series of related sentences.

Recently I have written a report to the chairman of the Board of the City Library of St. Paul, Minnesota, in which I have advised him that the public libraries of St. Paul, Minnesota, should be open to the public on the evenings of the first and second Thursdays of each month.

District	Sub-district	Population of the District & P.S.	Area under irrigated land
K. Sagar	Koranguda	Chang & K. Sagar Baroda Koranguda Koranguda Baroda	4,000 14,000 4,000
K. Sagar (contd.)	Koranguda		14,000
K. Sagar	Chitrala, K. Sagar K. Sagar Koranguda Santalin	10,000	4,000
K. Sagar	Illyoda K. Sagar K. Sagar	10,000 4,000	10,000 4,000
Kheda	Badrakot & Kheda Chandoli Parsangi Koradka K. Sagar Jalipur		
Gandhinagar	Portra, med	Langa, Suresh Aro Suresh	2,000
Gandhinagar	Koranguda	K. S. K. Koranguda	4,000
Kandiyar	Koranguda	Jamnagar Paudhi Bhujan	4,000 20,000
Koradka (contd.)	Koradka	Paudhi Bhujan Koradka Mandvi Mandvi K. S.	4,000
Kh. Sagar (contd.)	Koranguda	Paudhi Bhujan Jamnagar	2,000 2,000

These tribes have been classified as 'A' category tribes and for the rapid improvement of their economic condition special concentrated efforts are now being made by comprehensive resettlement programme with all facilities for agriculture, horticultural irrigation, poultry, piggery, marketing of their produce, purchase and sale centres and supply of study programmes. The new policies are being adopted. Government of India have specifically approved an expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs during the Third Plan period for resettling at least 200 families of these A category tribes.

The problem of welfare of Backward Classes has been receiving special attention of the State Government ever since 1946. Prior to the First Plan an expenditure of the order of Rs. 46 lakhs was incurred for this purpose. In the First Plan this was stepped up to Rs. 7.27-5 lakhs out of which a sum of Rs. 1.45-11 lakhs was incurred under State Plan. The total outlay for the Second Plan was kept at Rs. 7.16 lakhs, Rs. 3.80 lakhs under State Sector and Rs. 3.36 lakhs under Central Sector. The actual expenditure incurred was Rs. 6.60-09 lakhs, Rs. 3.31-94 lakhs under State Sector and Rs. 3.28-11 lakhs under the Central Sector.

At the time of formulation of Third Plan, proposals were made for a sum of Rs. 9.24-35 lakhs in the State Sector and Rs. 10.78-35 lakhs under Central Sector. However, the total outlay of the Third Plan for the welfare of Backward Classes was fixed at Rs. 9.07-35 lakhs when the proposals for the Third Plan were discussed at Delhi on the 4th November 1960. Out of this, Rs. 5.24 lakhs was earmarked for operating 90 Tribal Development Blocks and the balance of Rs. 4.83 lakhs for other schemes as approved by the Government of India. The State Sector of the plan was fixed at Rs. 4.63 lakhs covering all the schemes as approved by the Central Working Group and the Tribal Development Block programme as left to the Central Sector with the allocation of Rs. 5.24 lakhs. Subsequently, Government of India revised the allocation of Tribal Development Blocks to Rs. 1.05-8 lakhs due to the decrease in the number of Tribal Development Blocks allotted to the State and the following schemes, which were included in the State Sector of the Third Plan were transferred to the Central Sector. The revised allocation in the Central Sector are shown vis-a-vis the original allocation in the State Sector.

## In Lakh

No.	Item
1	Forest Co-operatives
2	Research and Training
3	Social Education and Research
	Total

Original outlay      Revised outlay  
(Rs. in lakhs)      (Rs. in lakhs)

30-00	33-94
4-00	7-50
4-55	
38-55	41-44

**APPENDIX**

**Table 1**  
**Estimated Capital Requirements**  
**for the year 2000**

**State and UT Sectors**

	Rs. in Crores	Rs. in Crores	Rs. in Crores
<b>1. Electricity for domestic housing</b>	<b>20000</b>		
Household - Subsidized (from the component of residential consumption)	8000		
Household - from residential consumption of non-subsidized households	12000	4000	
<b>Total</b>	<b>20000</b>	<b>4000</b>	<b>24000</b>

**All Sectors**

	Rs. in Crores	Rs. in Crores	Rs. in Crores
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1,02,000</b>	<b>24,000</b>	<b>1,26,000</b>

As the term "Other" in Central Sector is not defined, "Other" units again not included in the calculation of Central Sector. The other units have been included in the Central Sector for the sake of clarity.

Table 2 gives the estimated capital requirements for the year 2000 for the Central Sector. The table is broken up into the following categories:

	State Sector		Central Sector	
	Original	Revised	Original	Revised
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>	<b>1,00,00</b>	<b>1,10,00</b>	<b>4,70,00</b>	<b>5,20,00</b>
<b>Scheduled Castes</b>	<b>1,50,00</b>	<b>1,50,00</b>	<b">7,00,00</b">	<b>7,00,00</b>
<b>Other and Others</b>	<b>12,00</b>	<b>12,00</b>	<b">3,30,00</b">	<b>3,30,00</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,62,00</b>	<b>4,62,00</b>	<b>1,24,00</b>	<b>1,26,000</b>

Estimated capital requirements for the Central Sector are given in Table 3. The figures in Table 3 are the same as those in Table 2.

Estimated capital requirements for the Central Sector are given in Table 3. The figures in Table 3 are the same as those in Table 2.

for running educational institutions in tribal areas, where co-operation were indicated in the plan. The main

4.2.1. *Scalability*

### Subdivided Thighs

targets originally aimed at under a few important schemes in the Third Plan are indicated below.

	Area	Population	Area (sq. miles)
1 Ashram Schools	7 Ashrams	25,000 students	25
2 Pre-primary schools	2400 students	20	
3 Night-day schools	900 students	10	
4 Hostels	2000 students	15	
5 Primary training	1500 students	10	
6 Primary training	1500 students	10	
7 Prayag	2 units	160	
8 Gorakhpur	4 units	6	
9 Drinking water-supply	2,000 wells	20	
10 Road communication	666 miles of road	10	
11 Mysore High School	9 units	19	

Schrödinger's Cat

Pre-emergent herbicides	4000 kg/ha	15
1. Insect	600 kg/ha	20
2. Drowning water-supply	1,000 units	19

卷之三

Lectures on  
Geometric Topology

T-D Blocks	57	1,057.19
2. Enclosed, cross-ribbed blocks	45	7.14

Actions, what? Choices

Sample : running time during night on 5000 iterations (2.12.99)  
Scheduled Costs : nuclear reactivities

International Update

1. <i>Reproduction methods</i>	2. <i>Classification</i>	3. <i>Cell wall</i>
<i>Binary fission</i>	<i>Prokaryotes</i>	<i>Peptidoglycan</i>
<i>Vegetative reproduction</i>	<i>Eukaryotes</i>	<i>Chitin</i>
<i>Spores</i>	<i>Archaea</i>	<i>Proteins</i>

It has been pointed out earlier that consequences upon the transfer of certain schemes to the Central Sector authority of some schemes were revised. A few such schemes are discussed.

#### 5. 2. 2.

#### Scheduled Tribe

Adolescent Allowance of Rs. 700 per month was revised for completion of buildings of 1000 Adolescent Schools, & the cost of revision was raised to Rs. 42.00 lakh. Below, as in 1982, Government decided to categorise students in each Adolescent Agency by raising the strength of each school from 30 to 30 for which a sum of Rs. 6.00 lakh was estimated for each year of a non-recurring 3 years. The ceiling was, in that case, to Rs. 60 lakh. The original target of opening 10 Adolescent Schools have already been achieved. A few more are being contemplated to be opened if additional funds are available during the plan period.

2) Pre-Primary Schools: The provision of Rs. 30 lakh for pre-primary schools for Scheduled Tribe students was considerably inadequate in view of the rate of students given a different levels. Hence, the target was raised to Rs. 41 lakh but the target for the number of students remained the same.

(b) However, A. 2. 2. b. 2. b. building were roughly estimated to cost about Rs. 5.000 on average. Subsequently it was projected a construct M. L. and High Schools costing a. Rs. 4.000 each and post-matric family a. Rs. 80.000. Hence, more funds had to be provided and, as such, an Rs. 24.00 lakh was provided as against Rs. 9.000 for about 15 blocks.

3) Piggery and Goat Breeding originally, it was contemplated to have two units piggery units at a cost of Rs. 6.00 lakh. Subsequently, was decided to merge the combined piggery and goat breeding unit at Chipling for which a sum of Rs. 8.00 lakh was estimated. Adequate funds would, then be available. The sum was revised to Rs. 10.00 lakh.

4) Breeding豪猪-猪. The target was fixed at 2,500 units when a sum of Rs. 100 was being allocated for each unit. But the cost of setting up a unit is estimated to have gone up. As a sum of Rs. 300 is being given for each unit and from 96 onwards a sum of Rs. 2,000 would be given for the setting up of each unit in the rural block areas. In view of this the target will have to be fixed as low as 1,000. A further reduction under this head may be made to add more units under Animal Schools but, a revision would be made necessary towards the end year of plan period.

5) Adolescent Center & Pre-primary schools: As in the case of Scheduled Tribes, the necessity to increase the provision to Rs. 25 lakh was openly felt. Hence, the ceiling was raised to Rs. 60 lakh. In addition, on expenses and other grants, it has been contemplated to incur expenses to about 40.000 students to against the earlier target of 30,000. Meanwhile a scheme of recruitment - a. of staff, a. of students & revenue, the level has been adopted whereby the number of students to be being fixed each year according to the availability of funds. The rates of expenditure different areas remain

and so also distribution of reading and writing materials has been fixed for different classes.

2. *Shravas*: As in the case of Scheduled Tribes the construction of basic buildings was estimated at Rs. 14,000 each. More funds were therefore required. So the outlay of Rs. 20 lakh was raised to Rs. 32-65 lakhs for about 184 houses.

(ii) *Drinking Water-Supply*: As the cost of sinking of wells has gone high, the target of 1,000 wells could not be achieved. It was being revised to Rs. 2,000/- each well in the non-tribal areas from 1956 onwards. So the likely target would be about 700 wells.

#### 4. *GENERAL TARGETS*

*Aboriginal Tribes*: (i) *Tribal Development Block*: At the time of formation of Third Plan targets it was agreed to open 100 Tribal Development Blocks for which a sum of Rs. 5.24 lakh was allocated. Subsequently the Government of India fixed the percentage of tribal population for Tribal Development Blocks from 55 to 66.22 and allotted 57 Blocks with a reduced plan provision of Rs. 5.55-0.18 lakh. Later on 4 more Tribal Development Blocks have been allotted raising the number to 61 for the Third Plan period. No revision has yet been felt necessary in the financial outlay due to shortfall in the performance in the first two years.

*Denotified Tribes*: (i) *Residential Schools*: It was originally contemplated to open two Residential Schools of the Ashram type for the

Denotified Tribes material and accordingly two schools have been opened by the end of 1963-64. Since there is demand for more it is being proposed to open one more in 1964-65, bringing the total number to 3. The likely expenditure by the end of Third Plan would be Rs. 4.48 lakh.

(ii) *Sinking of Wells*: The revised target has been fixed at 80 wells against 120 as the cost of sinking wells has gone up.

The programme of welfare measures for the backward classes are undertaken under the following broad heads:

- (i) Education
- (ii) Extension work
- (iii) Health, Housing and other schemes.

A few selected important schemes of Third Plan under each head are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

(i) *Education*: The most important scheme under this head is the Ashram School. This is a residential type of school imparting general education up to M. E. Standard and the students are taught certain selected crafts. All the expenses are borne by the Government. At the initial stages tremendous difficulties were experienced in getting students for these schools.

On a total of 100 schools made during the First Plan as a result of which only 10 schools in Nagaland and 10 in Arunachal Pradesh were able to open in large numbers. By the end of the Second Plan 76 Ashram Schools were opened including one for Scheduled Castes during the Second Plan. During the first three years of the

Third Plan 7 more Adibasi Schools have been opened thus bringing the total number to 43. About 7122 students including 822 girls are now reading in these institutions. Since the cost of running this type of institution is rather costly the number is very much limited. The Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes during his last visit to this State has recommended for opening a large number of Adibasi Schools. In the Fourth Plan and long-term plan for Backward Classes adequate provision will be made for opening more Adibasi Schools.

The Primary Education of both tribal and non-tribal population has been included in the Central Education Programme. Under this programme it is intended to cover all villages with a population of 500 or more. Therefore no provision has been made for opening Schools in the Backward Classes Sector. Recently it was felt that the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes boys and girls in the age-group of 6—11 find it hard to go over long distances of 3 to 4 miles to prosecute their studies in Primary Schools. In order to give these students Primary Education in their villages where at least 20 or more children of the above age-group would be available it has been decided to start Chhatwali. More attention is being paid to the most backward tribal areas. During 1963-64 30 Chhatwali have been sanctioned and 100 more will be opened in 1964-65. It has also been contemplated to open 12% Chhatwali during 1964-65.

Provisioning hostels in the M. E Schools, High Schools and Colleges for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled

Tribes and other Backward Classes students has assumed importance in the welfare programmes for Backward Classes. Prior to the First Plan only one hostel at Raunagar was opened for Adibasi boys. During the First Plan period one more special hostel was opened at New Capital for the Adibasi boys who were brought from different districts to read in the High School after they passed from Adibasi Schools. During the Second Plan period the facility was extended to 100 boys in 12 L P and M E School and High Schools and as many as 25 special hostels, 16 M. E Schools hostels and 2 non-conventional houses for Scheduled Tribes and 42 L P and M E Schools houses for Scheduled Castes and 143 L P and M E Houses for other Backward Classes were opened. It has been proposed to open 114 houses for Scheduled Tribes and 104 for Scheduled Castes in M. E Schools, High Schools and Colleges during the Third Plan period. During the year 1961-62 and 1962-63 40 H P, 20 M P and 12 L P School hostels have been opened for Scheduled Tribes and 59 H P and 38 M E Schools hostels have been opened for Scheduled Castes. During 1963-64 18 hostels would be opened both for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes including one for girls at New Capital. The targets fixed would be achieved by the end of the Third Plan.

#### Technical Uplift

As mentioned in the preceding note Government have decided to pay special attention to the Adivasi Backward Tribes of the State and for the rapid improvement of the economic conditions a special scheme has been drawn

up for resettling them. The scheme aims at bringing down these tribes from their hills above to compact areas near the forest belt or in plain with a group of 200 families. All necessary facilities like agriculture, horticulture, poultry rearing, irrigation facilities will be given to them. Besides, their children would be given special education in residential schools to be started in these colonies. Purchasing and sale centres will also be opened to supply their day needs and to market their produce through these centres. Resettling a group of 200 fam. in a site will cost about Rs. 10 lakhs. There are about 2 mlns of these A category tribes and it would be a time-taking affair to resettle all of them. However, to start with, a programme has been drawn up to resettle 100 families during the Third Plan period at a cost of Rs. 0.50 lacs. These programmes may depend on the successful implementation of the present one. A Special Officer (Clan) has been appointed to plan, organise and execute the special scheme.

Poultry and Piggy Schemes have also been given importance for the supply of improved variety of pigs and poultry birds to the tribal people. A special poultry farm and a piggy farm has been started at Chiplima. In the piggy farm, goat rearing and breeding will also be taken up.

In the Central Sector, opening of Tribal Development Blocks has been taken up as the most comprehensive major scheme. In 1956, Orissa was allotted 4 S. M. P. Blocks, now renamed as Tribal Development Blocks, for the Second Plan and these were started at Narayangarh, Kandhamal

Rasra and Telka. During the end of Second Plan, a committee was set up under the Chairmanship of late Dr. Venor Chait to review the working of these Tribe Development Blocks and to give suggestions for their future programme. The committee recommended for opening more Tribe Development Blocks to cover all areas of tribal concentration with at least 50 per cent of tribal population. On this basis it was first agreed at the time of Third Plan document at Delhi, to start 30 Tribal Development Blocks for which a sum of Rs. 5.24 lakhs was recommended. But the Home Ministry later on fixed the percentage of tribal population at 66.23 per cent for Tribal Development Blocks and allotted 37 Blocks with a financial allocation of Rs. 3.65-18 lakhs. Subsequently 5 more Tribal Development Blocks have been allotted bringing the total number to 42. The four S. M. P. Blocks of the Second Plan are continuing in stage-II and out of 42 Tribal Development Blocks, 8 were opened in 1962-63, 8 in 1962-63, 7 in 1963-64. There is proposal to open one more in 1963-64 at Narayangarh. In Koraput which Government of India recently agreed to. During 1964-65, 14 Tribal Development Blocks will be opened and the balance in 1965-66. Proposals for opening of many Tribal Development Blocks is possible with a minimum tribal population of 50 per cent have been furnished to the Government of India.

Another important scheme in this Sector under the economic group is opening of Forest Co-operative Societies and other Co-operatives. This scheme has been introduced with a view to check exploitation of the

tribals, and to make use of their forest produce by marketing the articles through these societies. This scheme has been successful to a certain extent and so various co-operative societies are being established during Third Plan. By the end of Second Plan, 25 Forest Co-operatives were opened in the State. During 1961-62, the first year of the Third Plan 8 Forest Co-operative Societies were started. During 1962-63, 7 Forest Labour Contract Co-operatives, 3 Tissue Co-operatives and one non-edible Oilseeds Co-operative Society were opened. During 1963-64, funds have been sanctioned for an Apex Society for Tissue, Cocoon, one Lilt Impregnation Co-operative Society, four Co-operative Farming Societies, two Purchase and Sale Centres and 3 Labour Contract Co-operatives, 2 Forest Marketing Co-operative Societies. In the fourth year of the Third Plan, it has been proposed to start one Apex Society for minor forest produce, at Koraput district and to organise five Purchase and Sales Centres. Further programmes would be drawn up after the availability of funds.

#### Health Facility and other Welfare

Under the health programme opening of Mobile Health Units has been given importance. By the end of Second Plan, 1 unit have been functioning in the State. 9 units are to be opened during the Third Plan. During 1961-62, 3 Mobile Health Units were opened and in 1963-64, 3 more have been opened. It has been proposed to open the other 3 units in 1964-65. For want of medical, auxiliary staff and doctors, these units are being run with great difficulty.

Very often medical staff are not inclined to work in tribal areas. However steps are being taken to give special incentives like compensation allowance, special agency allowance, etc. to induce the medical staff to serve in the tribal areas under the scheme.

Provision of housing facilities for Scheduled Tribes and for Scheduled Castes (twisthers and scavengers and beggar etc.) for Scheduled Castes engaged in unclean occupations has been beneficial to these people. By the end of Second Plan 7217 units of houses were constructed for Scheduled Tribes and 3,385 units of houses for the Scheduled Castes. In the Third Plan there is a provision of Rs. 8 lakhs for Scheduled Tribes housing; in the State Sector 311 units of houses have been constructed during the first two years of the plan. During 1964-65, 200 units of houses will be constructed and in 1965-66, 300 units of houses are to be constructed. For housing the sweepers, Municipalities, Notified Area Councils and other local bodies are primarily

responsible for the construction of these units. The Government of India has given instructions to utilise funds in the best possible way. Since the cost of building a good type of house for the sweepers is a little higher say about Rs. 1,500 the Municipalities and Notified Area Councils are to supplement funds from their own as Government of India have agreed for a sum of Rs. 1,250 per unit of house. By the end of 1962-63 a sum of Rs. 11.43 lakhs have been utilised for this purpose and 1495 sweeper families have got the benefit. During 1963-64 about 300 families were

function, to which a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs has been allocated. During 1964-65, 60 acres of land would be acquired in the upper reaches of the local streams. By the end of Third Plan a sum of Rs. 4.20 lakhs would have been allotted over the upper reaches and 6 acres when a definite beneficiary site of 3.50 acres.

Supply of drinking water, sanitation in the towns and the jheels in an urgent need. Drinking water factors are provided by sinking wells and whenever necessary tanks are also excavated. By the end of Second

Plan a total water area of Scheduled Tribes and 97% water for Scheduled Castes. During the next two years a sum of Rs. 2.50 lakh will have been allotted. By the end of Third Plan a sum of Rs. 4.20 lakhs has been allotted for drinking water factors in the jheels. The total water for PWD departments in the towns and in the rural areas will be Rs. 1.50 lakh. A separate budget will be prepared.

The targets are as follows:-

Name of the scheme	Allocation at the end of Second Plan	Allocation area during the two years of Third Plan	Allocation for each village in the third year	Target fixed for the year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>STATE SECTOR</b>				
<b>Scheduled Tribes</b>				
(1) Primary Schools	76	5	1	7
(2) Hostels	85	78	1	135
(3) Ponds on a pond	43.42	0.620	0.017	1.000
(4) Poultry rearing	6.1	—	—	5 units
171 acres				
<b>Supplementary</b>				
(1) Gram Vikas	234	97	—	3
(2) Drinking water-supply	4,469 wells	375	20	200
(3) Roads and Irrigation	4,311 miles	148	1.1	300
(4) Mobile Health units	3	3	1	3

#### Scheduled Castes

(1) Primary schools	43.10	0.000	0.000	0.00
(2) Hostels	42	37	17	21
(3) Drinking water-supply	472	240	—	200

Name of the scheme	Achievement as on end of Second Plan	Achievement as on end of years of Third Plan	Anticipated achievements in the third year	Target fixed for fourth year
	(L)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>General Services</b>				
Scheduled Tribes				
(1) T. D. Banks	4	12	10	4
(2) Forest Co-operative sets	25	19		8
(3) Post-monic Scholarships	612	568	350	350
Scheduled Castes				
(1) Primary Education and Higher Secondary Education of Scheduled Castes engaged in unskilled occupations		1,493	100	200
(2) Residential Schools	400	642	400	400
Other tribes				
(1) Residential Schools		5		

## THE CHALLENGE OF DIVERSITY

We have accepted the principle of equality and it has become the fundamental right of the citizens in the Indian Republic. Our is not however a *neutral* or *abstract* type of equality. We do not simply endorse the principle and provide a legal framework for its removal at the earliest moment against equality. Our aim is not simply to provide equal opportunities, as far as and which be possible. Our is an active and *concentric* type of equality wherein the State actively *favours* in favour of *weaker* and *underdeveloped* sections of the Indian Nation and make special efforts for their welfare and progress. This policy which has been so *beautifully* implemented through all the Five-Year Plans is no where so clearly defined as in the case of tribal affairs.

India is a country where the range of social and economic living of the people is so high. It has partly been called the *storehouse of cultural heterogeneity*. Here we find the extremely primitive tribes, wholly dependent on the bounty of nature in a subsistence economy and living the traditional life untouched by the outside world on the one hand, and on the other we find people engaged in even the research and industrial production equipped with the most advanced techniques of science and technology and *visibly* surpassing in *material* strength.

Straddled between them is perhaps the entire range of human society from *industrialists*, *merchants* to *intellectuals*. A *completely democratic* programme in all of them would be simply absurd and equal opportunities under such uneven conditions would mean per *petual* of inequality. The *Corolla*

of India has, therefore, imposed upon the State through its Directive Principles of the State Policy to offer special opportunities to the weaker and underdeveloped sections of the Indian Nation and make special efforts for their welfare and progress. This policy which has been so *beautifully* implemented through all the Five-Year Plans is no where so clearly defined as in the case of tribal affairs.

There are two basic implications in this policy. The first implication is the due to the *extreme economic backwardness*, there has been comparatively higher provision for the tribal people as in the three plans. Like any other people the tribal people are entitled for the benefit of planned development, by an addition to they receive special treatment from the State, especially with respect to economic and educational programmes. The *orthodox* economic principle of *substitution for higher returns* has been used in this case. For the huge investments in this sphere, the "return" is said to have been in a record progress of the tribal people. This aspect of the policy is *far* from clear requires further elucidation.

The second implication of this policy is the *opposite* which is more relevant and which is yet struggling to take a shape. The tribal people are not only *extremely backward*, they are also *extremely different*. They have a *different* set of values, culture, way of life etc. In spite of *planned* progress which are *farmer* *class* and which are *material*.

take her grants, have perhaps not the same meaning for them. It is therefore necessary to understand the tribes and to translate our goal of planned development into their language. This has led to the launching of research programmes as an integral part of our work.

Research on tribal society and culture has unfortunately been haunted by certain stereotypes of pseudoscientific origin. One of these is the formulaic response on the conservatism of the tribal people. A school of thought has developed which has endowed a type tribal culture with mysterious and esoteric qualities. For the existence of the people should be "preserved" as their primitive purity and this belief has been the greatest impediment for the gearing of social sciences towards change and progress. However social scientists are gradually becoming alive to the fact that the tribal people have an open mind for changing themselves.

A tribal Brooks who attends a school in a larger town who attends a hospital disregarding the highly ritualized practices of the witch doctor of his society, jumps over ceremony at any service and has break with tradition is more drastic than our own society. The social and cultural gulf is usually remaining that the real problem is the attitude of the society to the long term aim of the tribes. This change, because it is rapid and drastic, needs to be properly planned and scientifically guided. This is the challenge which the pathologists completely underestimated. Many tribal and tribal tribes like the Andaman Islanders and Tribesmen, should prove to be open to change to the problem.

One of the main defects in our understanding of tribal people has been our inability to create what is of universal

value in their culture. In the past people with a superior military organization or clever in every other respect have been able to dominate over people who had a much better way of life. Technology has gradually taken the place of military organization though both are incomparably different. Our society, which by virtue of its superior technology, dominant over the tribal society has not been able to appreciate the latter's virtues which it lacks. And it is because we have not been able to receive what is best in them, we have not been able to give what is best in us. It should be one of the aims of research to chalk out a scheme of give and take to the mutual benefit of both, thus hopefully working out a process of healthy integration.

I thought to do my bit with a modest technology but have a society of savages which is superior to ours. They organize their society in such a way as to deal with the idea of the higher up of romance. In a society where a primitive tribesman can be a prince who has had no or little education he can be the best, he can be a sorcerer whom you do not know. This contrasts strongly with our society where relationships are gradually becoming uniform and there is little room for the distant neighbour or even a stranger. This is the challenge. The social and cultural gulf is still very large. It is a much more difficult than making the tribal people to adopt modern technology. Research in this direction is yet to make a beginning.

The problems therefore which face tribal welfare and Research are no problems confined to their respective. They are the problems of the entire nation and a challenge to our principle of equality. We have to meet this challenge if we are to survive as a nation.

**What is dance?**

Dance is the overt expression of emotional energy by means of systematised muscular movement. There are certain unique experiences which constitute the normal modes of expression. The purpose of dance is to give symbolic expression to these experiences.

**Two basic factors:**

Dance may be performed in the sake of its effect upon the dancer himself or in the sake of its effect upon the onlooker. In the former it fluctuates in a kind of automatic action. The dancer does not always consciously employ his movements to achieve his objective though in certain as in incidents such as the incidents of grief. The purpose in this type of dance may be derived roughly into simple play or simulation, the production of religious or other ecstasy and escape from spiritual stress. Tribal dance belongs in this category.

**Role of Dance in Primitive Society**

In primitive society dancing is inextricably connected with every phase of activity. The advance of civilization

has largely displaced the necessity for dancing as a form of self-expression and so on account this, we have to turn to primitive societies to discover its real value. Among primitive men the ascription of super-naturality to the phenomena of nature gave rise to the celebrations of every event of significance in the life cycle of the individual and of the group as an affair of ritual as well as of self-entertainment. These celebrations were frequently accompanied by the ritual of protection or dedication as well as by ceremonies of purely tribal significance and persons expression of pity or grief. That these rites should have found form in dance is entirely logical for even the most natural movements, when backed by intense feeling assume larger dimensions and stronger accents and as the outgrowth of a particular purpose instead of merely generic excitement, slip naturally into rhythm and form.

In all primitive dances music of some sort is an inseparable feature. It is employed by the dances themselves, either in the form of clapping, stamping or of clapping and stamping to accent the rhythm of the movements.

Frequently singing is added to it to unify the expression of feeling or even to tell a story. These and other methods are employed also by the tribesmen in their participation in the dance. In its natural form the music is either with the dance or in co-operation.

#### *Tribal Dance is Connected to Life*

It is difficult to make any sharp distinction in the dances between those which are religious and those which are social and occupations. So, the more apparent, loosely drawn in the minds of the tribes themselves. Their chief concern are the problems of subsistence and increase and these permeated their dances as well. Agriculture occupies a large share of their activities and makes a basis for the mimetic dances of daily activity which are a popular source of entertainment. But the majority of growing things involves magic and religion, and agricultural fertility relates itself at once to this. It is equally a problem to separate those dances which affect the individual from those that affect the group. For here is an inevitable effect upon the individual even in a dance which is chiefly of group concern, and those dances which do not the individual bear directly upon the life of the group as well. Thus in celebrations of birth, her, imp. puberty, circumcision, marriage and death the participation is simultaneous movements for a common purpose by others, then those immediately concerned, tends to establish solidarity. Some dances, largely processional in nature have as their specific object the proving of strength and the establishment of respect for authority, but even in those designed for other ends, the welfare of the group

is made habitat in the mind of its members by communal dancing. The dancing of primitive men is by no means confined to special occasions. It constitutes the major part of his recreation. Whether even the purely pastime dances can be separated from this is a question. However, as a question, for the life of the savage is no divided into clearly defined periods of labour and of play but is interwoven with everything related to the two problems of subsistence and increase.

#### *Different Types of Dance among Primitive Tribes*

##### *Dance and Labour Activities*

One of the most universal types of dancing with group significance among primitive peoples is that which accompanies labour activities requiring unity of action. The practice of reciting a rhythmic beating or chanting in order to achieve greater unity and efficiency of movements has been very general through the centuries and is widely prevalent at the present time.

##### *War and Warlike*

The dance serves a similar practical purpose in times of warlike. War dances not only constitute a popular form of entertainment but serve at the same time to crystallize group solidarity and in the absence of formal military organization, to provide the ring and drum for actual fighting. In the time of a campaign their major function is to stimulate the warriors to a high pitch of courage and enthusiasm in which the fear of death is made to disappear from consciousness as far as possible. Here, however, as

in so many other cases, here is also the admixture of a strong element of religion or magic.

Such dances as those just mentioned in which magic is involved or diviners are agents, are also employed against tangible forces of opposition such as drought, sacrifices and pestilence. Equally such dances as have here been noted of propitiatory character in the wider sense of the word.

#### *Magic, Diviners*

In general, these dances are magical in character, for it is a cardinal principle of magic that the spirit has a supernatural power. The enactment of a situation or mystery is believed to have the power to bring that which is also being. Evidence of this are found in a great number of dances of different sorts. In our cultural dances he can see the same involved animistically as, phallic symbols are carried to propagate descendants to assure fertility. It is also a practice in hunting dances to affect the prospective prey by imitating its movements. Similarly hunting dances are performed before or amidst the totem to promote the propagation and welfare of the species.

The fact of the belief in these objects is propitiatory angry deities or to destroy hostile men or influences probably arose from the realization of the effect of dancing upon himself and his observation of its effects on others. The question of distance from the objects to be affected did not enter into his consideration for the whole process lay in the realm of the unknown and mysterious.

#### *Dances connected with Death*

It is natural that death should be surrounded by elaborate rites and dances. Among primitive men funerary dances are generally performed for the welfare of the departed spirit and for the protection of the survivors from evil influences. Many of the ceremonies are mimetic and were intended to influence the dead by sympathetic magic. Sometimes the dead man's outstanding accomplishments were rehearsed for the benefit of the survivors and various initiations and rite pullings are performed by grave. The return of the spirit is a possibility greatly feared, and consequently every preparation is taken to prevent it.

#### *Death and Marriage*

Marriage is a cause for much dancing of a different character largely concerning self with sex practice and fertility. These are also dances of welcome to visitors, celebrations of power, of the change of seasons and of numbers after events.

#### *Funerary Dances*

Funerary dances are largely mimetic and, except for those which are designed for sexual initiation usually record past experiences or look forward to future ones as handle the dead or other death practices. Among war like peoples the war dance is the chief amusement. The Jethomas a monotonously distract a representation. The routine occupations, whatever they may be, are the basis for pageant-like dances. The primitive man seems to take a special delight also to funeral dances of as great accuracy as

positive. Those dances which deal with more personal problems provide an emotional release not only for the dancer but through transmission, sympathy, for the audience as well and are the root of both the art dance and the drama.

#### *Religious Dances*

A noisy act, its recognized purpose to exorcise a bad that releases energy, may be cited the production of *fiery* which has made dancing a part of the program of many religious sects and their tabernacles. Priests and prophets of many tribes dance themselves into delirium in order to induce possession by their particular deities, and in these states of *fiery* deliver their oracles. Frequently the ability to accomplish this type of ecstasy has been the test of priest-hood.

#### *Courtship Dances*

Courtship dances are undoubtedly motivated by sex and are an almost universal practice. The function of the dance in these cases is not only to give expression to sexual impulses, but also to excite them, both in the dancer and in the spectator. Dancing as a means of sexual selection was encouraged and was encouraged both religious and secular, for through the Middle Ages and even into modern times.

#### *In Future Dance Classes?*

Much has been written on the objectivity of primitive dancing and it has even been said that it is primarily *sexual* in intent. Primitive form many parts of the world does not bear this out. To a certain extent all dancing

is sexually stimulating, but, except in courtship dances, this stimulus may be regarded as a by-product. Most often the movements seem to be artistic renderings of spontaneous action, resulting from some emotional state.

#### *Flower and Leaf*

As a rule a dance is performed by a group or groups of people all of whom move in the same way. Solo dances are rare, though not infrequent. There is a dancer leader who has a special part to play. All the able-bodied adults of the community are expected to take part. Usually the sexes are segregated though this is by no means universal, but the close embrace customary in European round dances is seldom countenanced. Sometimes certain dances are restricted to one sex.

#### *Tribal Dances and Civilization*

In the dancing of primitive society are to be found all the elements of the dance and civilization has only modified them without adding anything basic. Because it is the most elementary medium for the expression of the perception of life, it is natural that it has declined in social importance with the growth of more intellectual means of expression. As a matter of fact no history is the history of this decline in every direction except that of art. The varieties, however, are numerous even in contemporary practice. Especially in religion has the dance retained its place to a large extent. This is true of both pagan and western religious except those which have grown out of the Reformation.

#### *Brief Notes on Tribal Dances of China*

All the primitive tribes of China have their specific patterns of dancing.

Dancing has considerably deteriorated among the tribes who have come into close contact with outsiders such as the Gonds of Santhalpur and Bundarghat, the Kandhs of Cuttack and Puri and the gana Joys of Orissa.

Brief notes on the dances of some of the more important primitive tribes of Orissa are given below:

#### Khanda

Among the Gonds of Koraput dance is practiced throughout the year. However, the dances are performed on special ceremonial occasions, i.e. marriage. The boys dress themselves with colorful coats and turbans during the dances. The turbans are adorned with cowrie shells and the coats are adorned with small pieces of mirror. The girls are dressed in handwoven white and silver ornaments.

A dancing group is uniformly formed with 20 to 30 persons of both sexes. Only unmarried boys and girls participate in the dance. The musical instruments are played on by boys. Two boys lead the dance with wooden drums. The girls dance in circles with simple steps of one and two, very often bending their bodies forward. The steps of the boys are more varied and complicated.

#### Khanda

Dance among the Koyas is highly varied and complicated. The most important occasion for dancing is the worship of the mother goddess in the month of Chaitra. Ordinarily both boys and girls participate in dancing but the girls are more conspicuous. However in this festival only girls participate.

During the dance, the girls keep rhythm by beating sticks on the ground which are fitted with iron bells. Dance groups are formed with about 30 to 50 persons. The most conspicuous movement about Koya dance is the complicated winding and uncurling of circles formed by girls.

#### Kandha

Kandha dancing is performed by women who wear the famous Kelinga sarees and have the 't' and 'n' in their style. The men play the musical instruments. Chakra and Pauha are the dancing seasons.

The Kandha women dance in circles with steps of three and four which they gradually change to eight. The body is often bent forward. Very often the steps are made on the heel.

#### Kandha

The Kandha dances are usually organized by unmarried boys and girls and free mixing of the sexes are allowed during dances. The dances are performed especially when the boys in girls of one village visit another village. Dance forms as such is the daily routine of the Kandha. When the boys and girls in their dormitories meet after the day's work.

Khanda is played especially during the dance of the Kandha of Koraput. The girls dance in lines and the boys dance in behind and in front of them. The dance of the Puri-Kandha is more colorful. The girls wear pieces in two pieces and bangles on their ankles. They dance in rows, facing rows of boys who sing songs and play on handdrums. The songs play a very important part in

the three States' dance are performed during their visits.

These brief notes are given to convey a general idea about tribal dance. It is not proposed to give a graphic picture of the tribal dances of India which can be the subject-matter of a future study and research. These notes are only meant to provide a outline and a sketch.

#### SUGGESTIONS

As has been indicated above tribal dances are mostly not meant for exhibition but for socio-cultural purposes. In this connection, the best method of their encouragement and propagation is to be the creation of tribal dance groups and to have them per-

form at schools and colleges, the sports and other recreational activities. The attitude of the educational authorities towards dance and music should undergo a radical transformation to make this possible.

There also is to be some weight given to research in this area. It is suggested that there be created a "tribal dance" research unit of great an wider scope matching sociological and practical and aspect. Research Unit should be created in the Department of Anthropology and Psychology for this purpose.

Finally, it is felt that the educational authorities may be encouraged and assist the creation of tribal dance groups.

case, the Doms raped a Kondh girl for a sum of Rs. 400 on her request itself, as other two, the Doms' relatives, had taken away her letters, possessions. They raped her, reduced her and snatched away all her gold ornaments.

W. Bribes and fees are also paid to the Government people of Koraput

Department for culturing patches of land in certain fertile & porous soils for drilling open and closed wells by schools teachers and to Sarpanches.

The following table gives a quantitative picture of the 86 cases of exploitation.

TABLE I

THE NUMBER OF THE CASES OF EXPLOITATION IN THE KONKANA VILLAGES BY GOVERNMENT AGENTS

%	TYPE OF EXPLOITATION	No. of cases	Per centage
50.0	Robbery with killing or serious injury to the victim or vulnerability	43	50.0
2	Robbery by using weapons like sticks, fire arms, Police records	1	1.2
4	Cheating & barrier and business	4	4.6
4	Lands attachment	9	10.5
4	Exploitation by Mining people	2	2.3
6	Rape and reduction	1	1.1
		86	100

Reducing activities come from Nos. 1 and 3 of exploitation by Government agencies & it is seen that the rest forty-nine cases are done by the Doms. To put it in crude terms, about 20 per cent of the exploitation cases are related to Governmental agencies, while in 80 per cent cases the Doms are found to be the culprits. More than half of the

cases (52.3 per cent) are of "highway robbery" type, while the frequency of rape cases is very negligible, i.e., 2 per cent.

#### Dom Exploitation

In both Laxmipur and Kunjukulam areas, Doms were found to be the chief exploiters. The people around Laxmipur are little advanced having

comes in contact with the Kondhs people, and they are not easily cheated by Doms. On the other extreme the Kondhs inhabiting rocky terrains in Kumbhikota areas are more liable to be a prey to exploitation. Kumbhikota, a village with Dom families numbering more than sixty is the centre of such exploitations. The Doms of this village not only exploit the Kondhs of their own village, but extend their grip to the neighbouring villages. The villages around Kumbhikota constitute the areas of their operation and they pay frequent visits to such villages for stealing cattle and other things. Various kinds of Dom exploitation are described in the following pages.

(i) Land Eviction: A wide gulf of difference is noticed between the amount of land the Kondhs own in the settlement records and their actual land holdings at present. In settlement records some Kondhs are found to possess more than twenty acres of land, and they are also paying land revenue accordingly, every year. But personal interview reveals the fact that most of their best plots of land have been taken away by Dom Sahukars on mortgage, by force, or by any other unfair means. In some cases, the Doms have bribed the settlement people and made the records in their names, but in most cases the transfer land is an oral affair, i.e., a verbal contract between the owner of the land and the Sahukar. The land of the Kondhs are transferred to the command of the Doms in the following ways:

(a) When a Kondh borrows money from a Dom the latter lends him money

with his保证书 that the Kondh has to pay the loan + interest of grants + the next harvest. The interest for such loans is almost double the sum. In case, the crop fails in the ensuing year and the debtor is unable to pay off his loans, the Sahukar demands more crops with much per cental increase in the price.

In the long run, he may continue in such a heavy amount that the Kondh is forced to surrender some of his ready plots to the Sahukar on mortgage for ten to twenty years. The Sahukar acts as a harsh oppressor. From the Kondh in a marriage in which he befriends the Kondh by increasing the amount of loan usually advanced and by neglecting the actual period of mortgage. Being forced to Kondh cannot know the treasury stayed by the Dom and he gives him harsh oppressor believing in the latter's honesty.

(b) Money and crops are also lent to the Kondhs on the condition of oral mortgage. To meet the expenses of marriage etc. a Kondh is often forced to give one of his plots on mortgage for money or crops.

(c) Under such a hardship, a Kondh may find no way out except selling a piece of his land.

(d) A Kondh is at times provided with liquor by a Dom on permanent occasions and when the former is heavily drunk, the Dom takes a thumb impression from him regarding selling out some land on false pretext.

(e) The land of a Kondh who dies without leaving any successor is often claimed by a Dom to be his land on the pretext that the deceased incurred

steamy loans of money from him and had mortgaged the land towards the same. In such cases, the Doms shun the documents and claim the relatives of the deceased.

(2) *Stealing in Barter and Abduction*—The Kondhs are not experts in marketing. Whenever a Kondh wants to sell his cattle he takes the help of a Dom who goes to the market with the cattle on the former's behalf and pays him the money. In some cases, the Doms may sell the cattle but do not care to pay the money to Kondhs in spite of the latter's frequent begging.

(3) A Dom may force a Kondh to give away his big bullock or buffalo—in exchange for a small one. If the Kondh denies the Dom may threaten him of stealing away his cattle.

(4) After the harvest, the Doms visit Kondh villages with clothes and glasses for sale. They charge high prices for the things and take crops in big measures. Dom ladies also wander from village to village with dried fish, molasses and other eatables and sell these things for crops.

(5) *Breeding Crops after Harvest*—At the harvesting season, groups of Doms numbering ten to twenty collect in the threshing-floor of the Kondhs and demands a major share of the harvest. They do not get satisfied with the grains given to them by the Kondhs on their own accord and always crave for bigger shares. If a Kondh declines to give so much of crop the Doms may threaten him to seal his penesults. It is really a pitiable sight to see how a Kondh feels miserable amidst a group of Doms who demand more than half of his harvest.

(6) *Stealing crops, cattle and other valuables*—Very often cattle are stolen from the Kondhs' cowsheds or are found running in the forest. A little enquiry of the master reveals that the Doms steal cattle and sell them in distant market places or slaughter for meat in the forest. Remains of meat, blood-stains on the earth charred bone ends, the slough and animal and ashes of the burning fire are traced in secluded parts of the forest indicating the burning ground of the Doms.

Cattle are also stolen away after giving prior notice to the owners. The Doms may demand some twenty, crops or a cow from a Kondh as gift. If the Kondh refuses to give anything the Doms threaten him and steal his cattle.

(7) *"Highway Robbery"*—The Doms are also not afraid of forcibly taking away things from Kondhs at broad day light. A Dom may ask for a cow or bullock from a Kondh and any refusal to this results in taking away the cattle from the Kondh's cowshed, by force. Similarly, failing to persuade a Kondh to give paddy or other grains a Dom might break in to his house and bring away his crops. The Kondh had to go.

(8) *Rape and Kidnapping*—A rape case collected during the investigation shows how a group of Doms raped a Kondh girl from her friends in a fair and plundered all her gold ornaments. The case was to the referred police-station, but in the meanwhile, the accused bribed the policeman. The policeman pleaded in favour of the Doms and threatened the girl's father for falsely accusing the Doms. The

girl's father and one of his buffaloes and paid Rs. 00 and a chicken to the postmen.

The type of exploitation in Kumbh area is different from the in Laturpur area. The tribals bordering Laturpur are closer to educated people and are clever than those living in interior villages. Besides, there is a police-station in Laturpur which puts some check to wanton exploitation. Hence, cases of robbery, kidnapping and forced tax, i.e. away things from the tribals are decreasing in this area. The chief type of exploitation here, is land encroachment by cutting trees.

Acquiring the land of the tribals is not so common in Kumbh area where the tribals are mainly shifting cult visitors and they have a few or no irrigated paddy plots to be mortgaged or sold. Hence, the "Nagarkar" robbery form of stealing things by force and threatening is the chief method of exploitation here.

#### *Methods applied for Exploiting Kondhs.*

The Doms do not suddenly attack a village and plunder away the possessions like the robbers. Their method of exploiting the Kondhs is a gradual process rather than a momentary phase of attack. In the beginning the innocent and innocent Kondhs of a village are selected. Since they do not have any voice in the village, they cannot influence or command their neighbours for any help. Even if the neighbours see a villager being robbed by Doms they get frightened and apprehending such attack, so let on them they start

their doors and sleep inside. A few of them in the opposite mold none of protest but Doms pay an heed to it.

Besides keeping the neighbouring persons in awe as their target of attack, the Doms also try to please the prominent Kondhs of the village by providing them with liquor on ceremonial occasions. By giving liquor to create temporary faith and friendly relations the Doms may see the apprehensions from the Kondhs when they are in a state of drunkenness.

*Why Kondhs are the target of Exploitation?*

Why Kondhs are the only targets for Dom exploitation requires a little knowledge of their personality structure. Simplicity of character, inaccessibility of the tract they inhabit, and their illiteracy make them docile and timid. Occupying the remotest parts of hills and forests, the Kondhs lead a life of their own which is free from consequences of modern life. Since they do not come in frequent contact with the modern people, they have developed a strong fear towards them. Doms are the only non-tribals with whom the Kondhs generally live. The apex are relieved to receive rough power and authority by a ruler of which they can command the Kondhs to obey them. Such feeling has been so deep rooted in the mind of the Kondhs from the time of the Raja's reign that it is difficult to root it out. The Raja's awarded the power of Doms to collect taxes from the Kondhs. In the days of British rule the converted Doms were getting ample support from the administration to defend themselves in spite of variety

authorities commanded by them. All these led to create a state of mind in the Kondhs who developed a maniac fear towards the Doms.

The Kondhs are honest and true. They rarely doubt the activities of the Doms, despite of their treachery. They never make attempts to do positive harm to anybody even if they are provoked to do so. They are truthful as the saying that they do not tell lies and thereby make any attempt to falsify the truth of a situation. The Doms, on the other hand, are very crooked. From their very childhood, the Dom boys are taught by their parents to live upon the fruits of others' labour. In a village one can find a Dom boy beating a group of Kondh children, but the latter having no courage to defend themselves. The Doms apprehend the danger of the spread of education among Kondh children. They thus give misleading ideas about modern education and persuade the Kondhs not to send their children to school.

The Kondhs have been the constant sufferers and have lost their courage of protesting against the capricious whims of the Doms. When a Kondh's cattle or crops are plundered by them, his neighbours do not like to protest and pick up quarrel with the Doms, as it would irritate him and tempt him to repeat the work again in future.

They also do not run the risk of their life to fight with the Doms, who do not hesitate to go to the extent of murdering their cattle.

#### Recovery

As evident from the above descriptions, it is not an easy matter to save the Kondhs from the dangers they are facing in their daily life. To free them from various exploitative usages and prolonged attempts by labour workers are necessary. Education should be given supreme importance. Because unless the Kondhs get education and value, they realize their own problems it is very difficult to awaken them. It is sure that when they get educated they can better understand their difficulties and find out means to eradicate these by their own efforts.

In order to put a check to the various Dom exploitations drastic steps should be undertaken to punish the doms like Dom culprits. They should be settled in separate colonies and kept under constant watching and supervision. An honest and sincere man should be employed to supervise the various activities of these Doms.

Immediate measures should be undertaken to raise the poor economic standard of the Kondhs. Indigo-dyings is a clog for their development. They inhabit the rocky mountain areas and live hard to mouth depending mainly on shifting cultivation. They have few or no patches of irrigated paddy plots situated near the stream beds, but a good number of such plots have been tactfully captured by the clever non-tribals. Shifting cultivation, the primary method of their agriculture, is not only a tedious affair but is the most unreliable as the harvest depends on timely rains and other favourable climatic conditions.

Contant crop failure or the scanty crops harvested from shifting cultivators hardly feed a Kondh for the whole year. Besides, a Kondh may require a large sum of money and crops for marriage. To meet these demands he has to incur heavy loans and thereby run into indebtedness. Indebtedness consequently opens door for exploitation a form of land encroachment. losing cattle and crops and engaging in Govt. work, etc. To put a check to these problems immediate steps should be undertaken to bring back the lost land of the Kondhs from the ownership of the non-tribals. Loans of money, paddy and other grains may be advanced to the Kondhs through the Gram Panchayats at

moderate rates of interest, to save them from paying exorbitant amount to the local lenders. It is important to note that most of the Panchayat people are non-tribals and they deliberately raise debt by giving loans to the tribals, as this conflicts w/ their own interest. Since steps should be undertaken to eradicate evils, from this level, and the Government may lend money or crops to the tribals by keeping their land in mortgage.

This matter should be given foremost consideration, because unless the Kondhs stand on a good economic footing and unless they are able to feed and clothe themselves properly it is very difficult to save them from exploitation.

The hill Saos who are commonly known as Laga Saos and also Mausa Saos, constitute the most primitive section of the great Saos Tribe in Orissa. They are widely distributed in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Konark districts. In spite of sustained activities of the Christian missionaries during the last forty years or so, attempts of the Government to provide special provisions for their upliftment and occasional migrations as labourers in tea-gardens in Assam, the hill Saos have remained in a very primitive condition far away from the touch of modern civilization. Only a few of them have been converted to Christianity. The rest have retained their customs and practices intact. They speak a dialect belonging to the Munda family of the Austro-Asiatic languages and very few can speak any other language.

They are primarily shifting cultivators, although, wet cultivation is also resorted to in terraced fields whenever available. The hilly forests provide them with varieties of edible roots, fruits and animals for hunting

to supplement their dietary requirements. Liquor is obtained from the molasses and sugar-jaggery betels. The petty traders belonging to Dora community visit the Saos villages with the articles of daily use for barter.

Like many other primitive tribes they attribute the causes of natural calamities, disease and unnatural death to the deities, dead ancestors and sorcery. The deities and the dead ancestors, who are supposed to be in search of food and drink in the underworld are watchful about the negligence and wrong-doings of the people and bring about diseases and other troubles. These diseases are believed to be caused spiritually and are treated spiritually according to established procedure of diagnosis and purification. The ceremony of "Darpur" described here is one of the magical-religious rites for curing fever. In the month of April, 1953, this ceremony was celebrated in the village Jangarpur of Chhota Panchayat Petai in Ganjam district. It is a typical Saos village surrounded by hills on all sides. There are altogether twenty families out of which seven families are Christian converts since 1935.

## Diagnosis.

Sukh Mandir of the village has two wives who are the sisters of a **o** village Lpi Bham by name. He has five children through them. Both the wives and all the children were suffering from fever one after another. On two previous occasions Sukh had consulted the village shaman and sacrificed a fowl and a pig to Dero Darmutu (the god of the cattle graziers who brings fever to the people) only the youngest son of the junior wife suffered severely. This was diagnosed by a shaman. On the ninth day of April 1961, the first wife requested the village shaman to diagnose the cause of the sickness. The shaman expressing his anxiety inquired very seriously and sympathetically about the ailing persons and at once sat down for diagnosis with the help of a winnowing fan and the rice brought by Sukh's wife. A wick was lighted. The shaman holding the wick, a his left hand rubbed rice grains round and round with incantation to invoke the deities' assistance and his batmaly to locate the agent of sickness and to determine the sacrifice required. Being possessed by his batmaly, his hand not stuck to the winnowing-fan and Sukh's wife had to apply much strength to detach it. Then the shaman became the vehicle of his batmaly and informed her that Darmutu was responsible for the sickness. When enquired about the remedy, he readily prescribed the shaman's sacrifice of a buffalo.

## Ceremony.

Sukh **o** had arranged all the articles required for the ritual. He consulted the **Caring** (the regular head of the

village and a sage elder and decided to perform the ceremony on the 9th April 1961.

**Rite in the Courtyard**—At about 8 A.M., the ceremony was started in front of Sukh's house. A rice-cutter, pot containing rice, salt and oil, a winnowing-fan containing three handfuls of rice about 100g, 14 brass, a ring, a bow with arrows, a leaf-cup filled up with incense, haljots and a mat **ta**, were placed on the ground and two bamboo stools were placed in front of Sukh's wife. wives and children who were sitting in a row facing the shaman. Eight leaf-cups were then prepared and spread on the ground by the shaman.

The commencement of the ceremony was then marked by the beating of the drum by Sukh and recitation and offering of wine to the leaf-cups by the shaman o deities and ancestors. Then he threw out a four directions and upon the parents. A wick was lighted. He put on the leaf **ta**, picked up the bow and arrow while calling the dead and deities. began to dance to the accompaniment of beating of the drum. He picked up the haljots one by one at the tip of his arrow shot them in air directions, then at the buffalo and also at each person, after jumping upon to the base of the lamp. Then the shaman picked up the bamboo stools and placed them in the base of the wick. While dancing, he recited To reduce (servant of Darmutu) & accept the remedy as his presentation. He recited, the head of each nation for three times. Then holding the wooden pot containing chutney, salt and onion, he called on Darmutu saying,

"I am offering you rice, salt, chili, etc and going to sacrifice a buffalo to you. You take these and prepare your ritual near a water source."

Then he moved the pot over the head of each patient with a prayer for their recovery.

*After inside the house.* After the conclusion of the rites in the courtyard, the shaman conducted another rite inside the house. Two hand cups containing rice, another cup with chili, salt and water and a basketful of rice covered with a new cloth, were placed near the mortar. A wick was also lighted. In the meantime, the eldest son of Saku brought the hairy tip of the sacrificed buffalo's tail and handed it over to the shaman. The shaman then directed the deities and offered wine to them. Reciting spells he singed the tail of the buffalo. He mixed the ashes with rice and threw them upon the sick persons. The venue of the ceremony was then shifted to the outskirts of the village.

*After the sacrifice of the village—* At the entrance of the village, the shaman arranged his ghar under a Melia tree. Some women at a short distance were seen busy in preparing hearths and carrying water for cooking the feast, while several others sat down to stitch leaf-caps. Near however the women were engaged in cooking the food separately for the deities. Several young men gathered under another tree to kill the sacrificed animal, which was dragged to that place.

*Sacrifice of buffalo and preparation of meat—* Killing of buffalo by the Saccu is a pathetic sight to see

visitors. The mode of killing which I saw in several villages revealed the Saccu's knowledge in buffalo anatomy. With the heart end of an axe a single blow was administered to the joint of the head and the vertebral column. The animal making painful noise crumpled down, and another person ruptured the heart with a long thin halff to let out blood. Although the animal was still groaning under such torture, one person cut down the horns with an axe and others started skinning. When the skinning was over, the blood discharged from the heart was collected in a pot.

A cup of blood, a front leg and the head were handed over to the shaman, who placed these near the altar. Two legs and one-third of the lung, heart and liver were taken by the owner. A small quantity of flesh and the rest of the lung, heart and liver were given for preparing the food for the deities and deads. One leg, the entrails and some strips of flesh were given for feasting at the spot. The remaining quantity of the buffalo's meat was distributed equally among the families who contributed rice for the feast and participated in the ceremony.

*Preparation of Food—* Following items of food for the feast and for the worship were prepared separately—

(a) Rice and millet mixed together were boiled in water to prepare a porridge

(b) Flesh mixed with rice was boiled in water

(c) Some portions of lung, liver and heart mixed with rice-flour were boiled with blood and water

(a) Fresh Ning added with salt  
chilli and turmeric was boiled in water

(b) Some portions of liver, lung  
and the heart were roasted in burning  
ember

After cooking, there was the im-  
portant task of cutting the boiled  
flesh into pieces for distribution

**The Worship**—In the meantime the  
shaman invoked the deities, i.e.  
the ancestors and offered wine  
and rice mixed with the blood of  
the buffalo. Then he himself began  
to beat the drum, slowly at first and  
then more rapidly and prayed the  
deities, especially to Dornamun, to  
accept the food to bring health and  
happiness to the family and also to  
the village. While reciting spells he  
poured water on the head of each  
patron. Different items of cooked  
food were handed over to the shaman.  
After covering the dead and the deities  
he offered these items along with—  
After this he himself took wine and  
went on calling the ancestors and the  
deities and passed into a stupor. He  
became possessed by a number of  
deities and dead ancestors. The long  
conversation, which took place  
between the audience on the one  
hand and the shaman acting as the  
vehicle of the unseen powers on the  
other is briefly noted below:

Turkadora the servant of Dorn-  
amun came first and it was  
declared that he rubbed the forehead  
neck, back, hands legs and great toes  
of each patient. The earthen pot  
containing rice, onion, chilli salt and  
flesh of the buffalo was offered to him.  
He wanted the stick, which was at

once given. Holding the stick with  
his right hand and keeping the pot  
on the head, the shaman acted as if  
walking with these materials for  
Dornamun, his master. Then he was  
possessed by another servant of  
Dornamun and informed about the  
arrival of his master. He asked for  
water to drink and went away

After this Dornamun himself came  
and demanded "Why you first gave  
me a foal and then a pig but not  
a buffalo at the first instance? Do  
you know that I was in need of  
buffalo for my cultivation. When you  
did not comply with my demand for  
a buffalo, I attacked most of the  
members of the family. To cool  
down his anger all persons, including  
his wife flattened him, and offered wine  
with great care and devotion. Saku  
the head of the family celebrating the  
rites, conveyed him the difficulties  
he had to undergo to get a buffalo on  
credit. When the buffalo was avail-  
able, it was possible on his part to  
offer it to him. Dornamun demanded  
cloth. When a cloth was handed over  
to him, he exclaimed "This is not  
a good cloth and you are giving me  
only one piece. What I will say  
when my daughter is born? and for this I  
Take this back, and get two nice pieces  
immediately." Saku immediately  
replied, "I have given you a nice cloth,  
but you considered it to be bad. Please be  
satisfied with it. If there will come  
with me to my home and select  
one."

Dornamun said "I am  
satisfied with this cloth and will wear it.  
The shaman representing Dornamun,  
got up and put on the cloth and sat  
down and said to Saku, "I now promise

to give another buffalo etc. "the recovery of your wives and children" Suku replied "Please help me to harvest a good crop so that I would be able to give one" Dorducon asked for wine which was at once given and went away. There was silence and everybody had some palm wine.

Then the shaman was visited by a series of ghosts one after another. Some of these ghosts came to take wine and food, some made fresh demands for sacrifice, some of them warned their relatives about their negligence carelessness and breach of taboo. Most of them were persuaded to depart after taking wine. At last came the ghost of Idam, the *bet* Gamang of the village and father of the present Gamang. He was offered wine immediately. After tasting it he said "Oh, the palm wine is very bitter I won't take it. Give me Melua liquor". At once melua-liquor was given to him. While drinking it he enquired about the welfare of the village. He asked why they had not made the clearing for the year. The Gamang who was visiting by his side told how everything was going on excepting a few people suffering from disease. He asked his son to look into the welfare of the village. After taking wine he went away.

After this, the shaman rubbed his eyes as if waking from a heavy sleep. He stretched his arms and legs, spat on his hands and wiped his face and thus broke his trance and became normal. Once again he sat down to invoke the dead and dead who were offered wine. He removed the rug worn by Suku's neck and placed

it on the altar. While reciting incantations he sprinkled water over the patients. He then gave one share of offered food to each of the patients who were required to eat it there and then.

*Distribution of Food.* The different items of food prepared separately for offering, were distributed in a number of shares as follows. The Gamang, the Mandal (assistant to Gamang) and the Buuya (village officials) received ten shares each. The shaman (who is also the Buuya of the village) received ten shares of cooked food and a leg of the buffalo. The owner who is also the Mandal of the village got ten shares each and the head of the buffalo besides his share of flesh taken earlier. All families who contributed rice for the feast received one share each. Then all who were present near the altar proceeded towards the cooking place to attend the feast. When the ceremonies were going on, several persons carefully distributed the festive meal into a number of leaf cups. In the presence of Gamang, the shares were distributed at the rate of one share for each member in the family. The rest were distributed among the persons present. Elderly persons got four shares each, while children were given only two shares each. The feast was concluded with drinking of wine at 2 P.M.

#### Conclusion

The most acute problem faced by the Laga Sarsas, inhabiting the inhospitable Agency tracts, is disease. This has resulted in the development of an elaborate system of magico-

slavery. The consequent indebtedness bring heavy pressure on the Saora economy. This is the root cause of their indebtedness and conversion to Christianity. They cannot go to hospital to take medicine to cure diseases, because of their fear of offending

gods and deities. However, their constant contact with the converted Saora, who visit hospital for treatment causes reaction in their minds. This persuades them to end the indebtedness and slavery by changing their G. h.

H. C. DAS | STUDY OF Factions  
IN A VILLAGE

Sankaria, a village in the district of Bankura, Orissa, is situated half a mile north of Laxmisa Nath Road Station (B.E. Railway). It borders Orissa and West Bengal. It is a multi-caste village with a population of 347. The table furnished below shows the caste composition of the village.

Name of the caste	No. of households	Population
Raj	21	106
Karma	23	127
Odha	3	29
Karia	2	9
Wadherman	3	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>347</b>

Sankaria has been subjected to the impact of exogenous forces of change during the past thirty years. proximity of Dantan town (in Malda district, West Bengal) with a good market,

development of communication, spread of education, introduction of Panchayat Raj, all played their part in producing changes in economic and social spheres of the village.

The purpose of this essay is to give a brief analytical description of the factions of the village. 'The informal and loosely organised groups in mutual opposition' may be called as factions. The villagers refer to them as 'Parties'. Factions provide the basis for acquiring prestige and influence by the leading villagers. These are most obvious during weddings, village fairs and in the decision of village disputes.

In every day life, the role of the factions is not significant. Members of the opposing factions not only work for each other though the leaders of both groups do not talk to each other.

The village Sankaria is split into two opposing factions, one being traditional and the other of recent origin. Factions in the village are based on caste predominance. Sankaria, the

traditional leader belongs to Raju caste which forms majority in village population. He is illiterate but a shrewd village politician. He is a wealthy man well-known in the area as a money-leader. For his balanced judgment he is invited by the people of other villages to help in compromising their complicated disputes. Being the leader of the village Panchayat he settles all the village disputes in the village to be compromised. He is the Panchayat Rajadhi, but he is not on cordial terms with the village Grama Panchayat member and the Sarpanch of Santa Grama Panchayat, under which the village Sarpanch comes. He describes Balurhia, the Grama Panchayat, master as a renowned blackmarketeer. He says, "being immoral what idealism he will preach in the village. He can demonstrate only on blackmarketeering business. He is a Chairman of the village Upper Primary School. The School building collapsed in the last cyclone. Does he try to repair it? What I was the Secretary of the school I took no help from anybody to thaten the house and to maintain the fence that surrounds the school compound. I have promised not to look to the school unless I am appreciated by the great Chairman."

Bukurtha Mohanty, Grama Panchayat, ward member of the Santa Grama Panchayat, a another dominant personality in the village. His faction is known as Mohanty Group. He is sterile and clever. His faction is composed of Karan, Gudia, Kuthia and washermen but he is not able to influence any person from the Raju Group, which forms the opposing

faction. Bukurtha a Karan by caste in actual practice he has done nothing except setting up a tubewell in the village, and has for now his own house. He does not like to tolerate the high-handed attitude of the traditional headmen. He thinks to end the village cleavage through the Sarpanch.

Sonakarna man who one dispute at the origin of the present factional alignments in the village. Gouranga Karan youngman belonging to Mohanty Group had illicit love with the wife of Chandra Saha, a washerman in the village. On the occasion of Dusshera Gouranga also took some money in the washerman's house. It happened came to know about it. The headman wanted immediate revenge against him for breaking the code above. A village Panchayat meeting was held and Gouranga was fined Rs 10. His relation with Chandra's wife was not disturbed in the meeting. One day Chandra found Gouranga with his wife. He beat the boy. Quarrel broke out between the two men. Chandra by Gouranga severely. Two or three took to be settle and stopped the fight. The master was referred to the headman who was told to get a decided soon in the presence of all the four by heads. The ward member of the Grama Panchayat wanted to report the case to the Panchayat Office. Finally the case was compromised in the village Panchayat. Chandra was boycotted for a fortnight. In the interest of preserving the caste superiority, the higher caste elders (including Karan) felt that severe punishment was necessary. It was decided that all the village people

should sever their social, economic and ritual connections with Chandra and his family.

In addition to this he was required to pay a fine of Rs. 50. The washerman argued that they could not pay the fine, if the village broke off economic and ritual relations with Chandra. Their appeal was unsuccessful. The fine was not paid and the villagers cut off all relations with Chandra and his family. Chandra found it difficult to maintain his family. He was dependent mainly on his washerman occupation. He owned a little agricultural rice land. He started a foundry in Durbar taluk on share basis. He now earns more money by washing and mending clothes for town customers than he could ever have earned by serving the villagers. In the absence of Chandra at home his wife continued to maintain illicit relationship with Govardhan. The matter was disclosed by the brothers of Chandra. Before any action was taken Govardhan and Chandra's wife left the village.

One year passed and Chandra lost all hope to get back his wife. He wished to marry again. A bride was arranged by his brother in a nearby village. The traditional faction under the leadership of the village headman refused to allow the wedding to take place in the village until Chandra had paid the fine levied on him last year. In such a critical situation Chandra approached the Panchayat, ward member (Bikashtha) for help. He assured to come to his rescue. He re-established economic relationship with Chandra and to celebrate the wedding peacefully, he took the help of police.

Although the case occurred a year back, to Sunabani man it is still one of the most important disputes between the two factions. This is because it symbolises the faction leaders' concern in opposition to each other's group. The Gram Panchayat member supported the washerman after the village Panchayat severed all economic and ritual relations with him. He says that he supported Chandra because he deserved sympathy and that there was no reason why Chandra's wedding should not have been held at the village. He regards this case as a welcome chance to show his supremacy in the village politics. He obviously wished to undermine the strong hold the headman had over the village.

Bikashtha in bring a permanent compromise between the two factions approached the Sarpanch & Gram Panchayat. The Sarpanch came to the village and asked the ward member to inform the villagers to meet him. Being aware of Sarpanch's coming to the village the headman along with his two other associates left the village. Most of the household heads from the Mohany Group and a few from the headman's faction responded to the call of Sarpanch. Thus, Bikashtha's efforts were frustrated.

On another occasion the Mohany Group wished to enact a drama - the village Amateur actors came on request from other villages. Some of the amateur actors drank liquor at the back of the rehearsal house. The matter was reported to the police by a member of the headman's faction. The police frequented the village and threatened the persons dedicated to

regular rehearsals for the drama were suspended. The headman to strengthen his group seek the help of police.

The conflict between the two factions comes up on all major issues and in every major dispute, but it hardly affects day-to-day life in the village. The Military Group employs measures

from the headman's factors and the others also do vice versa. Interactions also cuts across faction alignment. The headman is an important money-lender of the area. He is a shrewd and thrifty businessman. Marriages also cuts across factional alignments. These factors ensure the bridging of the cleavage between the two factions in every day life.

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The Sa-ara are a tribal community residing in the coastal districts of Orissa. They are supposed to form a part of the great Sa-bar tribe where the Saora belong. The Saora are a primitive tribe, chiefly residing in the forests and hills of the districts of Ganjam and Kandhamal. They have their distinctive language and culture and possess all the characteristics of a primitive tribe. The Sa-ara on the other hand speak Oriya and are not distinguishable from their Hindu neighbours. They serve pūjās to gods and have their functional relationships with the Hindu society which characterizes a caste.

The present paper aims at an analysis of the bodily measurements and observations on the Sa-ara. The study was made by the author on one hundred and ten adult males selected from villages neighbouring Bhubaneswar, New Capital in the Purulia district, Orissa. The samples were collected from the following villages, namely Nimapur, Sripur, Ratuypur, Baraburua, Barapukur and Ghatika. The operation was carried out from November to April 1962. The following anthropometric measurements and goniometric observations were registered.

#### Observations

Skin colour, form, texture and quantity of hair, beard and moustache, opening of eye-elt, together with the presence or absence of epicanthic fold, nature of eyebrows, degree of development of supra-orbital ridge, depression of nasal root and nature of nasal bridge, degree of development of zygomatic arch, degree of thickness and nature of elevation of liga.

#### Measurements

The following anthropometric measurements were taken—maximum head length, maximum head breadth, maximum frontal diameter, maximum bi-zygomatic breadth, biporal breadth, nasal height, nasal breadth, morphological facial angles, stature, cranial head by phr.

The following indices have been worked out of the above measurements—Cephalic index, nasal index, length breadth index, breadth height index and facial index.

The measurements were strictly taken according to techniques developed by Webber. For indices Martin's classifications have been followed. However in this short paper it has not been

possible to give the classification of adhesions. Therefore, only the abstract of the analysis has been presented.

#### Analysis of the Stomatognathic Observations

**Skin Colour**—The skin colour of each of the subjects has been observed on two different parts of the body, namely, on the ventral side of the upper arm and on the cheek. Observations are made mainly by eye approximation. According to descriptive terms, the skin colour of the majority of people are lightbrown to brown-tawny both on the exposed and on the unexposed parts of the body. Very few cases of deeper shades are noticed.

#### Hair

(a) Hair form—Regarding hair form 105(96.36 per cent) persons possess wavy hair. The remaining 3(2.73 per cent) and 11(9.90 per cent) have straight and wavy hair, respectively.

(b) Texture—The texture of hair in majority of 98(89.19 per cent) cases is fine. Only 8(7.27 per cent), and 4(3.63 per cent) cases of med am and coarse hair were noticed.

(c) Quantity—The quantity of hair in majority of cases 92(80.63 per cent) is medium. The rest 8(7.17 per cent) and 10(9.09 per cent) are scanty and thick, respectively.

#### Beard and Moustache

In majority of cases 30(71.63 per cent) have slight growth of beard and moustache. Only 16(37.63 per cent) cases of med am and 4(3.63 per cent) cases of thick facial hair were observed.

#### Eyes

(a) Nature of Eye-ellip—Only 1.2(10-90 per cent) cases with oblique eye-ellips were noted. All the other subjects had straight eye-ellips.

(b) Epicanthus—In majority of cases 94(83.43 per cent) no epicanthic fold in the eyes was found. The trace of epicanthic fold was noticed in 3(11.81 per cent) and moderate epicanthic fold in 3(2.73 per cent), cases.

(c) Eyebrows—From the study it was found that 29 persons (26.36 per cent) have thin eyebrows and only 4 persons (3.63 per cent), have thick eyebrows. The remaining 77(70.00 per cent) are in between the two. Only 9(8.09 per cent) cases with connected eyebrows were noticed.

#### Supra-orbital ridge

Measuring the degree of the development of the supra-orbital ridge it was found that 37 persons (33.63 per cent) had pronounced type of supra-orbital ridge and 12 persons (10.90 per cent) had a slight trace of the ridge while rest of the subjects numbering 64(55.43 per cent) possessed moderate type of supra-orbital ridge.

#### Nose

(a) Depression of nasal root—The frequencies of shallow and stipidum type of nasal depression are 77(33.6) per cent, and 66(6.8 per cent) respectively. Only 3 persons (3.34 per cent) possessed deep nasal depression.

(b) Nasal bridge—The majority of subjects numbering 53(46.36 per cent) possessed straight nasal bridge. And the frequency in case of concave,

convergent and convervoeverted noses were 43(39.0 per cent) 9(8.18 per cent) and 5(4.54 per cent) respectively.

### Zygomatic arch

The marked zygomatic arch is noted in 63(57.27 per cent) cases. The rest of the subjects presented medium and straight zygomatic projections their number and percentage being 40(36.36 per cent) and 7(6.36 per cent) respectively.

### Lips

(i) Thickness—The majority of subjects numbering 71(64.54 per cent) possessed medium lips. The cases with thin and thick lips noted were 21(18.18 per cent) and 20(33.63 per cent) respectively.

(ii) Protrusion—Among the persons studied only 1(3.73 per cent) cases with slight everted lips were observed.

### Analysis of Anthropometric

#### Stature

Analysing the measurements on stature it was noticed that majority of subjects (71.61 per cent) were between 50-162.9 centimetres in stature that is from short stature to well approaching medium stature. The average stature was found to be  $161.11 \pm 0.45$  cm. The maximum being 177.8 cm. and the minimum 146.1 cm. The percentage of very short, medium, above medium, and tall were 7.27, 11.31, 34.5 and 34.0, respectively.

#### Height

(i) Cephalic Index: The mean cephalic index was  $76.18 \pm 0.42$  with the maximum of 81.6 and minimum of 69.8.

Dolichcephaly  $\times 14$  per cent appeared to be predominant. Mesocephaly occurred in the next in great percentage of 40(36 per cent). Brachycephaly and hyper-dolichcephaly are in the equal percentage of 1.72 per cent. The mean head length and breadth are  $18.69 \pm 0.04$  and  $4 \pm 0.04$  cm. metres, respectively. Head length is and head breadth varies between 20.1 and 17.4 cm. 16.6 and 12.8 respectively.

(ii) Length-height Index—The mean length-height index of head was  $66.03 \pm 0.27$ , the average of variation being between 60.7 and 71.1. Hypocephaly (7.18 per cent) appeared to be predominant. The percentage of brachycephalic and orthocephalic elements were 34.3 and 18.8, respectively. The mean head-height was  $11.90 \pm 0.08$  cm. the maximum being 14.9 cm. and the minimum 9.3 cm.

(i) Breadth-height Index—The mean breadth-height index was  $38.26 \pm 0.59$  cm. with the maximum of 40.7 and minimum of 30.4. Acrocephaly (34.09 per cent) occurs as highest concentration. Tropaecephaly and metacricephaly were 20.00 per cent and 20.90 per cent, respectively.

(ii) Nasal Index—The mean nasal index was  $76.55 \pm 0.39$  with the maximum of 89.2 and the minimum 60.8. Metacribrum occurred as the highest concentration in 50.50 per cent when the proven age of pubescence was 47.27 per cent. Leptorrhine occurs in 14.8 cases only. No cases of hyper-leptorrhine were noticed. The mean nasal height and nasal breadth was  $4.71 \pm 0.03$  and  $3.89 \pm 0.04$  centimetres, respectively. The average of variation of the nasal height was

between 5·6 and 3·7 cm. while that of nasal breadth between 4·5 and 3·0 cm.

(v) Total Facial Index.—The mean total facial index was  $87.82 \pm 0.60$  the maximum being 105·4 and the minimum 73·8. It was noticed that the Mesoprosopic element was predominant (36·18 per cent) while both the Euryprosopic and Leptoprosopic elements were strongly present in order of frequency. The percentages were 20·36 and 27·27 per cent, respectively. The hyper-euryprosopic and hyper-leptoprosopic elements were low. The mean total facial length was  $11.9 \pm 0.04$  cm. the maximum being 12·4 cm. and the minimum 11·9 cm. The mean bzygomatic breadth was  $2.94 \pm 0.05$  cm. the maximum being 3·3 cm. and the minimum 1·2 cm.

### Conclusion

It has been mentioned earlier that the Saors of the coastal districts are supposed to be a part of the Saors. It is held that the former migrated to the coastal districts in the remote past and forgot their distinctive language and culture in course of time. At present there is no cultural evidence in support of this hypothesis. We have therefore, to fall back upon the bodily measurements and observations to test this hypothesis. The data presented in this paper should be compared with equivalent data on representative samples from Saors. If this is done, scientific evidence can be produced for testing a hypothesis whose basis at present is conjectural.

An attempt is made in this paper to describe the changes that have affected the "Bauri" caste residing in the Bhubaneswar town in the district of Puri, Orissa.

Materials for this paper were collected from the following Bauri wards located in Bhubaneswar town in the district of Puri, Orissa, such as - Gora Sahu, Mani Sahu, Chennodi Sahu, Huda Sahu, Murha Sahu, Mahamunda Sahu, Nagawar Sahu, Kalikadeu Sahu and Bangala Sahu.

According to the census taken by the author the Bauri inhabiting these wards number 450 of whom 234 are male and 216 are female.

This paper intends to discuss the changing status of the caste during the period 1940-1962. To find out the changes in the different aspects 1940 has been taken as the base-line. This year was selected for the base-line as the forces of change began to emerge from this year. From 1940 after the construction of the State Capital, the pace of change became rapid. The external and internal groups of the caste and the agents through which they worked would be discussed towards the end of the paper.

For collecting data from the informants for this paper several methods were adopted. To know the status of these people in 1940 the old and very old people were interviewed. Data for 1962 were collected through observation both participant and non-participant. To verify the results of the interviews checking and rechecking were made in course of analysis. The findings on a comparative basis for the period are presented below (Table 1 and 2).

As a polluting caste the Bauri wards were situated at the outskirts of the clean-caste wards. Murha Sahu was an exception to this rule because the Bauri of this ward were brought by the head (Mahanta) of the Math-monastery from different villages to work in the paddy fields owned by the monastery and in the monastery itself nominal wages. They were given free house-plot in monastery compound. They had their separate wells in their wards, as they were not permitted to use the wells of the clean-caste people. Huda Sahu and Chennodi Sahu had their own deities known as "Dusad" and "Chennodi" respectively. These deities were worshipped by a local

Baun known as "Kaleo" (Sharram patti). These dwellings were situated under banyan trees and were made of rough and uneven stones, painted with vermillion. Each ward consisted of 8 to 10 (Mai Sahi and Huda Sahi 20) houses situated on both the sides of the ward road. The houses were made of wattle and daub and were built at the height of about seven feet. An outsider was not allowed to enter into the houses. The ward roads were not metalled and muddy. In rainy season the ward roads looked like drains. In all the houses the same room was used for various purposes like store kitchen, bed-cow-shed etc. Each family had its own husking room (Dhanku) installed either at the front or back verandah. All the houses were without any windows. There was no regular road connecting the wards and the Baurs lived a life of isolation.

In 1962 the Baurs' wards have assumed a new shape and is not considered as isolated and lonely. These wards are now surrounded by big buildings of the people coming from outside. These wards are now connected with good metalled roads with the other clean-caste wards. These roads have been constructed by the Public Works Department and Notified Area Council in the Baurs' wards with the direct initiative of the ward members. In Gaze Sahi the ward road was metalled by a Bauri youth who was paid all the expenses from the Notified Area Council. The new houses constructed in the wards are fully influenced by the pattern prevalent in New Capital. Though the roofs are still of thatch, floors have been cemented, walls whitewashed and roofs are with mudroofs. I came across such

houses in Nalamunda Sahi and Nagarkar Sahi. The Baurs of Huda Sahi use the well of their clean-caste neighbours. The Baurs of Mai Sahi have dug a well getting money from the Notified Area Council in their ward. It is important to note that about 25 per cent of houses have removed from their houses the heating stoves. One will not find a heating stove in a newly constructed house.

#### *Food and drink*

The traditional food of the Baurs was very simple in 1960. It consisted of rice and dal, mainly prepared out of green leaves and Sars (C. lacistema Taro) Water she (Genda) and Kochha (a kind of snake big fish) were also used in the curries if brought from the nearby ponds. Fish, dry fish and meat were a luxury to them and were served on special occasions. It is noteworthy to mention that they accompanied the local hunters as helpers (Paribharas) in the hunting expeditions. Generally meat was procured from hunting. They took their meals twice a day, the first meal early morning and the second early in the evening. Tea, liquor and Qasqa, etc., were not used by these people.

The food and drink of the Baurs in 1962 have changed a lot in comparison to the base-line pattern. Vegetables like potato, brinjals, etc., dry fish and fish, etc. are served daily as dishes. They have been addicted to tea and Garamba (a kind of aromatic). Each Bauri takes tea daily in the morning and in the evening. About 25 per cent of the Baurs drink tea throughout the day and this practice has compelled them to cut down their daily consumption of food. About 5 per cent of the youth, drink country liquor to get rid of the day's hard toil.

### Occupation

Agriculture, labour and card working were considered to be their traditional occupation. They were also employed by clean-caste stage-owners or owners of stone-cutters for which they were paid daily wages. Besides these, regular occupations the Baurs of Matka Sah, Bhagala Sah and Huda Sah were employed in the company temple. For this they were given oil-free (Hukar) house plate and some remuneration. The temple duties allotted to this caste group were as follows.—

1 To cut the first tree on Samavat Puja a new sari from the mango-tree (Bada Tora).

2 Repair of the road (Rathadanda) for the temple-car (Ratha) to pass on the car festival day.

3 To serve as the break-men (Khandaivali) of the temple car. Old Baur ladies were employed as 'Dha' (Nurse) to attend ht expectant mothers. The tables mentioned below lists the remunerations and wages etc., in the sacred and secular contexts.—

*Table showing the Remunerations for the sacred services (1940)*

Sl. No.	Nature of duties	Remunerations
1	Cutting of the first log of the deity's car	4 annas in cash. A sole amount of food offering. A new cloth each
2	Repair of the road of the car (Ratha).	4 annas per head
3	For acting as break-men	4 annas in cash and a new cloth.

*Table showing the Remunerations for the secular services (1940)*

1	Daily wages for cutting granite stones	6 annas to 8 annas
2	Daily wages for working as labourer (Male)	6 annas
3	Daily wages for working as labourer (Female)	1 annas
4	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Male)	2 annas and 2 measures of paddy
5	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Female)	2 annas and 2 measures of paddy
6	Remunerations for working as Nurse	Rs. 2.00 cash and free food. A new Saree.

After the conclusion of the New Capital, there is a Shabandar and due to the growing need for labourers the wages going up than before. The need for more labour due to the fall of many wages were to be economic and to be flagged. The economic development are affected by increased work and the salary due to the Bawali. This is the case separately below. Amongst the Bawali are the wages agreed here is to be served services also termed as Bawali. The daily, or wages who are to be paid in wages of the Bawali is Rs. 10/- Rs. 12/- Rs. 15/- Rs. 18/- Rs. 20/- Rs. 22/- Rs. 25/- Rs. 28/- Rs. 30/- Rs. 32/- Rs. 35/- Rs. 38/- Rs. 40/- Rs. 42/- Rs. 45/- Rs. 48/- Rs. 50/- Rs. 52/- Rs. 55/- Rs. 58/- Rs. 60/- Rs. 62/- Rs. 65/- Rs. 68/- Rs. 70/- Rs. 72/- Rs. 75/- Rs. 78/- Rs. 80/- Rs. 82/- Rs. 85/- Rs. 88/- Rs. 90/- Rs. 92/- Rs. 95/- Rs. 98/- Rs. 100/- Rs. 102/- Rs. 105/- Rs. 108/- Rs. 110/- Rs. 112/- Rs. 115/- Rs. 118/- Rs. 120/- Rs. 122/- Rs. 125/- Rs. 128/- Rs. 130/- Rs. 132/- Rs. 135/- Rs. 138/- Rs. 140/- Rs. 142/- Rs. 145/- Rs. 148/- Rs. 150/- Rs. 152/- Rs. 155/- Rs. 158/- Rs. 160/- Rs. 162/- Rs. 165/- Rs. 168/- Rs. 170/- Rs. 172/- Rs. 175/- Rs. 178/- Rs. 180/- Rs. 182/- Rs. 185/- Rs. 188/- Rs. 190/- Rs. 192/- Rs. 195/- Rs. 198/- Rs. 200/- Rs. 202/- Rs. 205/- Rs. 208/- Rs. 210/- Rs. 212/- Rs. 215/- Rs. 218/- Rs. 220/- Rs. 222/- Rs. 225/- Rs. 228/- Rs. 230/- Rs. 232/- Rs. 235/- Rs. 238/- Rs. 240/- Rs. 242/- Rs. 245/- Rs. 248/- Rs. 250/- Rs. 252/- Rs. 255/- Rs. 258/- Rs. 260/- Rs. 262/- Rs. 265/- Rs. 268/- Rs. 270/- Rs. 272/- Rs. 275/- Rs. 278/- Rs. 280/- Rs. 282/- Rs. 285/- Rs. 288/- Rs. 290/- Rs. 292/- Rs. 295/- Rs. 298/- Rs. 300/- Rs. 302/- Rs. 305/- Rs. 308/- Rs. 310/- Rs. 312/- Rs. 315/- Rs. 318/- Rs. 320/- Rs. 322/- Rs. 325/- Rs. 328/- Rs. 330/- Rs. 332/- Rs. 335/- Rs. 338/- Rs. 340/- Rs. 342/- Rs. 345/- Rs. 348/- Rs. 350/- Rs. 352/- Rs. 355/- Rs. 358/- Rs. 360/- Rs. 362/- Rs. 365/- Rs. 368/- Rs. 370/- Rs. 372/- Rs. 375/- Rs. 378/- Rs. 380/- Rs. 382/- Rs. 385/- Rs. 388/- Rs. 390/- Rs. 392/- Rs. 395/- Rs. 398/- Rs. 400/- Rs. 402/- Rs. 405/- Rs. 408/- Rs. 410/- Rs. 412/- Rs. 415/- Rs. 418/- Rs. 420/- Rs. 422/- Rs. 425/- Rs. 428/- Rs. 430/- Rs. 432/- Rs. 435/- Rs. 438/- Rs. 440/- Rs. 442/- Rs. 445/- Rs. 448/- Rs. 450/- Rs. 452/- Rs. 455/- Rs. 458/- Rs. 460/- Rs. 462/- Rs. 465/- Rs. 468/- Rs. 470/- Rs. 472/- Rs. 475/- Rs. 478/- Rs. 480/- Rs. 482/- Rs. 485/- Rs. 488/- Rs. 490/- Rs. 492/- Rs. 495/- Rs. 498/- Rs. 500/- Rs. 502/- Rs. 505/- Rs. 508/- Rs. 510/- Rs. 512/- Rs. 515/- Rs. 518/- Rs. 520/- Rs. 522/- Rs. 525/- Rs. 528/- Rs. 530/- Rs. 532/- Rs. 535/- Rs. 538/- Rs. 540/- Rs. 542/- Rs. 545/- Rs. 548/- Rs. 550/- Rs. 552/- Rs. 555/- Rs. 558/- Rs. 560/- Rs. 562/- Rs. 565/- Rs. 568/- Rs. 570/- Rs. 572/- Rs. 575/- Rs. 578/- Rs. 580/- Rs. 582/- Rs. 585/- Rs. 588/- Rs. 590/- Rs. 592/- Rs. 595/- Rs. 598/- Rs. 600/- Rs. 602/- Rs. 605/- Rs. 608/- Rs. 610/- Rs. 612/- Rs. 615/- Rs. 618/- Rs. 620/- Rs. 622/- Rs. 625/- Rs. 628/- Rs. 630/- Rs. 632/- Rs. 635/- Rs. 638/- Rs. 640/- Rs. 642/- Rs. 645/- Rs. 648/- Rs. 650/- Rs. 652/- Rs. 655/- Rs. 658/- Rs. 660/- Rs. 662/- Rs. 665/- Rs. 668/- Rs. 670/- Rs. 672/- Rs. 675/- Rs. 678/- Rs. 680/- Rs. 682/- Rs. 685/- Rs. 688/- Rs. 690/- Rs. 692/- Rs. 695/- Rs. 698/- Rs. 700/- Rs. 702/- Rs. 705/- Rs. 708/- Rs. 710/- Rs. 712/- Rs. 715/- Rs. 718/- Rs. 720/- Rs. 722/- Rs. 725/- Rs. 728/- Rs. 730/- Rs. 732/- Rs. 735/- Rs. 738/- Rs. 740/- Rs. 742/- Rs. 745/- Rs. 748/- Rs. 750/- Rs. 752/- Rs. 755/- Rs. 758/- Rs. 760/- Rs. 762/- Rs. 765/- Rs. 768/- Rs. 770/- Rs. 772/- Rs. 775/- Rs. 778/- Rs. 780/- Rs. 782/- Rs. 785/- Rs. 788/- Rs. 790/- Rs. 792/- Rs. 795/- Rs. 798/- Rs. 800/- Rs. 802/- Rs. 805/- Rs. 808/- Rs. 810/- Rs. 812/- Rs. 815/- Rs. 818/- Rs. 820/- Rs. 822/- Rs. 825/- Rs. 828/- Rs. 830/- Rs. 832/- Rs. 835/- Rs. 838/- Rs. 840/- Rs. 842/- Rs. 845/- Rs. 848/- Rs. 850/- Rs. 852/- Rs. 855/- Rs. 858/- Rs. 860/- Rs. 862/- Rs. 865/- Rs. 868/- Rs. 870/- Rs. 872/- Rs. 875/- Rs. 878/- Rs. 880/- Rs. 882/- Rs. 885/- Rs. 888/- Rs. 890/- Rs. 892/- Rs. 895/- Rs. 898/- Rs. 900/- Rs. 902/- Rs. 905/- Rs. 908/- Rs. 910/- Rs. 912/- Rs. 915/- Rs. 918/- Rs. 920/- Rs. 922/- Rs. 925/- Rs. 928/- Rs. 930/- Rs. 932/- Rs. 935/- Rs. 938/- Rs. 940/- Rs. 942/- Rs. 945/- Rs. 948/- Rs. 950/- Rs. 952/- Rs. 955/- Rs. 958/- Rs. 960/- Rs. 962/- Rs. 965/- Rs. 968/- Rs. 970/- Rs. 972/- Rs. 975/- Rs. 978/- Rs. 980/- Rs. 982/- Rs. 985/- Rs. 988/- Rs. 990/- Rs. 992/- Rs. 995/- Rs. 998/- Rs. 1000/-

Shah and Central Government. One as a Vehicle Guard in the New Red Area Council and two as Peons in the Government office. Two Bawali are working elsewhere in New Capital. It is going on that will be Bawali after the conclusion of the New Capital some workers now need not work as a means of self-help. The Bawali in East Sahi Baghola have happened that all have signed Hand Park and where a few days ago are not to work have only earnings and wanted to go to the west, people

the 16th July 1961. Three Bawali work in various New Capital under took up their work. The altered wages are as undergoint certain changes. Details of the rate of the reduction of the old rate as no longer undertaken as it has been insisted by the Bawali from Council. The wages and similar services done by the Bawali are the rate of new wages and wages of the year 1962 are as in the following table.

#### Remuneration for Bawali services (1962)

Sl. No.	Nature of Work	Remuneration
1	Carrying of fire wood for the consumption.	Rs. 2 and 5/- per day
2	Acting as a labourer.	Rs. 10/-

#### Remuneration for service services (1962)

1	Daily wages for carrying of materials.	Rs. 4 to Rs. 5
2	Daily wages for other non-agriculture labour.	Rs. 5 to Rs. 10/- (Male).
3	Daily wages for labour in agriculture labour.	Rs. 5 to Rs. 10/- (Female).
4	Daily wages for agricultural labour.	Rs. 5
5	Daily wages as Mason.	Rs. 5
6	Remuneration for an additional call up.	Rs. 4 per day.

### *Political changes*

The Baurs obeyed the traditional caste leaders known as Alvars, Netha and their caste leaders like the Bihars and the Bada Bihars. The caste leaders were always respected and obeyed. All the disputed setting among them were solved by those leaders.

By 1962 the legislature passed by the Governor-General he introduced reservation schedule with the introduction of Panchayat Raj, new type of leadership came in to being. The traditional leaders are no longer consulted. All the issues arising in the caste are now decided either by the Panchayat members or in the Civil Court. Cases are also decided by the influential caste-caste people of the area.

### *Changes in Religious life*

As a potting caste they were not permitted to worship in the temples. The deities worshipped by the Baurs were worshipped by them and no Brahmin priests were engaged.

In 1962 it was observed that, the Baurs employ a Brahmin to worship their deity "Chamunda" and paid him Rs. 0 per annum for his services. On Maharashtra Samvrat the Baurs in co-operation with the nearby clean-caste tribes arrange the Fire-walking Native (Brahmin, Jain) near their deities "Chamunda" and "Dudhi". The Baurs Party entered into the compounds of Kapali Parvarambar and Mahadev temples. They are fully aware of the rules passed by the Government to abolish untouchability

### *Other aspects of change*

As discussed above changes in the social, political, economic and religious spheres are noteworthy. After the establishment of the New Capital of the State at Bhabanipur new changes have come up rapidly. Economic development, as described earlier, brought about changes in the other spheres. The large demand in labour for the construction of the New Capital created new avenues of earning. The daily wages went up. The increase, earning has affected their day-to-day life and social culture. The Baurs women now use gold and silver ornaments in preference to the red glass-brass ornaments. They no longer use the earthen pitchers to fetch water. These have been replaced by buckets and bei-metal jugs. Those who work in New Capital under the building contractors use cosmetics and even gold. New items like wrist watches and bicycles have been included in the marriage dowries. The Baurs women now are ashamed to use the hukking ver and depend mostly on the rickshaw in the town. Prostitution has become common among the women folk specially those who work in the capital area. Use of contraceptives has furnished the process. Reservation of seats in the Notified Area Council election and the other Governmental measures for the upliftment of this group have brought a new type of leadership among them. The caste leaders have lost their hold on the society. Cases arising among the members are decided by the caste-caste people and to show the gradual decline of the traditional caste association. Multiple means of independent livelihood is also responsible for the gradual decline of

caste solidarity. Changes in diets have bridged the gulf between them and other clean-castes. The services of the washerman and the barber and so in the New Capital are now available to them. In New Capital the Baulas freely take tea and coffee equality with the other people in the hotels and restaurants. People do not hesitate to take tea in the shops opened by the Baulas in Bhubaneswar.

The old town of Bhubaneswar is a traditional religious centre whose internal dynamics were too subtle to bring about any appreciable change in the vision of any caste. The establishment

of the modern town of the New Capital has swerved off the traditional social and economic pattern. The religious tabus however still persist in a suppressed way.

#### Notes

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The Saora house is a thatched hut small in size with earthen walls and pillars, posts, beams and rafters of dried timber. The door frame is also of the same material and the door-leaf except in the case of a propertied Saora, is of sliced bamboo strips together. The plinth of the house is generally high enough to allow free drainage but houses with low plinth are not rare to see.

The verandah is kept clean and neat and it is in great use. Paddy and other grains are husked there. Grains are sorted before they are taken to the kitchen. Sisal ropes are twisted there and mats with date leaves are woven here. The men and women sit there for a chat during spare time smoking. The men sleep on the verandah during the summer session. It is the sick room during the day and close to it on the village street the new born baby has to bath daily twice for a month. The house-wife and the girls of the house plaster it frequently with mud and keep it always neat and clean.

The door-leaf has a peculiar contrivance which answers the purpose of locking. The contrivance is curious and even though every house has it there is no fear of theft and house-breaking. There is a hole in the top centre of the door frame through which the bolt is thrust in and a bolt fixed in the inner side is pulled into position to prevent the door from opening from out side. While opening, the bolt is moved to a side and the door opens. The bolt is a piece of wood about 6' long. Where the family can afford it, a lock is put

on the door which has no staple and chain. The houses of the Oraon, Bihari and the Bediars have similarly locking arrangements with chain and staple.

The main room is a small passage like room. It is carved out by partitioning a room into the living room and the kitchen. There is a partition between these two and generally wooden posts fixed in the ground form the partition. It is mud plastered in the majority of cases and is about 3' high. There is a shelf like arrangement made of wooden planks placed lengthwise across a number of posts throughout the length of the room. The hearth or fire place in the kitchen has a continuous fire burning and one sees a few pots and a number of bitter gourd "Jolas" in the kitchen.

The floor of this main room has two holes at which the girls of the house pound corn or bush it in the morning even before it is light, for the breakfast of the family. The bushing is done by a cylindrical wooden piece about 3' in length and 4" in diameter. The shorter end is used for adding weight to the pounder while the sharper end with an iron hand round it is used in bushing. The girl walks it squarely and makes a sharp ringing sound when the blow lands on the grain. There is yet another contrivance for bushing. It is a wooden Chakli, two circular slabs of hard wood each about 6" thick. The upper slab is held in position by a small wooden spike or projection fixed in the slab below. The grain is pushed in a cavity in the upper slab and then the slab is moved round and round. There is a just a

if able as the cow is bar of hard wood and prepared by the Soom himself. The Soom is not a stone-cutter and has to repair his teeth in the above manner.

A portion of the main room along side the rear wall is the place where drinking water and water for the kitchen a kept. Wooden posts of a height of 3 or 4 are driven into the floor. There a plain decking over these posts over which the water is kept in earthen pots. Rarely brick stoners are used and whether it is of brick or of earth the pot is kept scrupulously clean. Just a few feet above the pots are kept the Durcha Devta of the house. These are the family Gods and are kept in earthen pots of soil, etc. These contain drawings or effigies of the Gods and they are the indoor Gods of the Soom.

At the very entrance of the main room a bamboohang breadthwise suspended from the rafter. Slung from this bamboo one sees the hatters of the cattle, the "male noses" of the goats, the plough ropes, etc. Whenever the man is ready he has a packet of elephant dung string from this bamboo. Pieces of dried buffalo flesh are also to be seen so hung. The bows and arrows are stuck in the banch of the roof within reach. The gobis, the mukhi, the kanti, the kufi are a stack into the roof. The "powder flask" usually a buffalo horn with a metal cap is also here. Spare gun barrels are either hung from a bamboo rafter or are stuck into the roof. Fibres collected from the forest used for twining rope are also there.

Towards the centre of this main room are suspended the seed grains of the Soom. Seed maize and seeds of

asparagus beans, pumpkin, etc are tied in leaf packets and suspended. On top of these seed grain are some spare dry and hollowed gourds for use as pitchers for keeping or fetching water or as handles for serving cooked food.

On a screened floor formed by the deck up over the fire place there is the granary of the Soom. The grains are kept in big open bamboo receptacles. These as well as all other items in the two rooms are painted in a striking dark brown colour. The youth of the family are driven into a trap-like convenience in the space below the water space. Cows, if any, are tied along with the cattle. The cattle shed is either a separate hut or an extension in the back of the house accessible from outside.

There are no plates and cups at all and no metal plates or dishes. Leaf cups, glasses, known as Dora, serve the purpose. The living room which is the main room accommodates all the members of the family during the rains and winter. There are no pets except a dog and the dog sleeps in the house or on the verandah or in the cattle shed. The house of the Soom does not require to be spacious. He has few walls. He lives for the day or at best for the morning. The vegetables fetched from the Bogoda, the corn and grain as harvested all go straight to the kitchen. The produce of the Bogoda a excess of daal, rice, etc is kept either green or dry for sale to the peddlers who come with salt, tobacco, etc to the Bogoda for barter. The house with the cattle is to be exact a "Hoosh's Aka".

## THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND JURIDICAL MACHINERY OF THE CHETTIAK KUWANAR AND THE PALLI OF VILLUPURAM

### Introduction

"Social control and caste go together", holds Praud (1957: 245). Every caste in India has a standing council to regulate the conduct and guide the morals of its members. Its smooth functioning maintains social conformity and coherence within the caste. Conformity is the norm "is either voluntary or else it results from the pressure of sanctions." Wilson, 1957: 17), because the individual and the social order are parts of one system of life. Bogardus finds that the "group control and personal initiative are two poles of social life. Both must be constant in their operation if society is to function smoothly (1934: 206). In this are, as Kimball Young asserts, "to bring about conformity, solidarity, and continuity of a particular group or society" (Young 1942: 4).

Within the purview of this paper we shall be discussing the nature of authority structure in, and the mode of social control of the Chettiar Kuwanar and the Palli units living in the Villupuram Taluk of South Arcot district in Madras State along with similar case situations from both the castes the former is an artisan caste (Potter) belonging to the clean Sudra group of the Hindu social

order and the latter is an untouchable caste.

The Chettiar Kuwanar constitute a *de jure* endogamous sub-caste of the Tamil potter who are identified with Sivites sect. By Chettiar Kuwanar and the Palli living within Villupuram Taluk form *de facto* endogamous units within their respective cultural spheres. The former are spread over in eleven villages and the latter are found in sixteen villages within a radius of about twenty-five miles. The population of the Chettiar Kuwanar and that of the Palli is roughly twenty-six hundred, and three thousand respectively. They constitute, within their respective domains, effective units of action and manage their respective caste affairs independent of their counterparts living beyond the limits of Mannancheril Taluk. The members of the group refer to each other as *Asai Sothaipperangal* or caste-brother. They form also, in their respective social and cultural spheres, effective community and village units. This effective group "can be called he

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1. Chatur 1961: 293 "The term 'backward' for the Hindu caste Indians known depressed was originally suggested by the caste hierarchies. Caste and sub-caste adopted as the term in the administrative alternative to the unfortunate and depressing term "Depressed Classes" i.e., Report on the Census of India, 1951.

Kindred<sup>2</sup> of consanguinity. This is the population within which marriages are made and/or line links can be traced through mutual kin. (Mayer 1960: 4)

### Social Organization

Structurally the Chettiar Kshatriya and the Paliars are very much alike the members of the same caste living at different villages, within the Taluk have a lot in common.

The basic social group among these castes is the patrilineal unit or nuclear family called Kshetra and an individual is identified with it. But the Kshetra in general cases is divided from within, the Seniors or elementary families are the potential constituents inside it. The larger consanguinity group is kula or lineage, where common relationship of genealogical links between consanguineal kinsmen could be traced, but not beyond it. But on the other hand the kula is also a compromised kin group which includes the male female consanguineal kinsmen and includes the spouses of those

(Mayer 1960: "The kindred of consanguinity, in the instances I have recorded, is a male subgroup built up around enough people to be worth maintaining, as I have said, people do not like to marry into the subcaste.

Muthuk. 1970: "that separation and the residential collocation of husband and wife prevent the realization of a nuclear consanguinity kin group in its entirety under any rule of residence. This can be aggravated only by combining a nuclear rule of residence with a nominal unilinear rule of descent and effecting a consanguinity whereby some affinal relatives are included and some consanguineal lineages excluded."

2 Elwin 1953 the 17 two units are merged into one. Usually their children will belong to the same paternal clan, and no marriage is prohibited.

of the opposite sex. The enlarged exogamous unit is *gurum* or *ab* which is composed of several exogamous line groups. Among the Chettiar Kshatriya of Mannachalur there are eight such exogamous groups or *ab* viz. *padmam, padmam, kadavu, chettiyappan, chettiyappan, chettiyappan, chettiyappan, chettiyappan* and among the Paliars there are seven such *gurum*, namely *pragaduram, saptapati, peddaram, adhara, kanduram, andyur and hankuram*. Although *gurum* regulates exogamous marriages between spouses where the kinship is of hypothetical nature, there are also rules of consanguinity which govern marriage between affines. Among the re-betroded degree bilocal cross-cousins are potential mates, and the daughter of an older user is also considered as a preferable marriage mate whereas children of re-betroded users cannot marry.

Excepting these, marriage with all patrilineal kinsmen as well as with a matrilineal kin up to within the fourth degree of relationship is forbidden. Monogamous marriage is the usual practice but there are a few cases of bigamy among both the Chettiar Kshatriya as well as the Paliars such cases are only found with the older generation. The present trend is to divorce and divorce with priests. Levirate (soror) and sororal (husband) marriage are practiced under admissible circumstances. No case of levirate has presently been found either among the Kshatriya or among the Paliars but there are three established cases of sororal among the former and five among the latter. And obviously all these sororales have not resulted on the desire of previous wife Rajarama (a Chettiar kshatriya)

or Ayanod village has married the younger sister of his wife since the latter failed to bear a child. Apart from this there has been a case of two sterile brothers (Sivarambhum and Venkata of Chettiar Kusumai case) marrying each other and perhaps the next to be up to such a step. This later resulted in the proscription against the marriage of maternal parallel cousins.<sup>1</sup> Instances of divorce, even as far as non-parallel and distant cousins and widow marriages are there among the Pallus only. And among Chettiar Kurumai cases of divorce of widow marriage have not occurred within last fifteen years as a result of their changing value system.

The average marriage-age among both the cases, of a girl is at or slightly after puberty, of boys about five or six years later the puberty. Marriages are arranged and aligned on the basis of negotiations on parental level subject to the acquiescence of *Kul* members and the *Panchayatikarunam* or case council, respectively.

#### Economic structure

By vocation the Chettiar Kurumai are artisans, namely potters and the Pallus are a sort of agricultural labourers. The division of labour among the former in pursuance of their craft makes the income a result of joint-effort. Their vocational co-operation and interdependence are not only confined to family level, they are also found on communal level for instance taking loans of inter-caste from the neighbouring villages for exploring variable clay feeding, of fuel community and hiring a kiln co-operatively. Mutual co-operation is not sought for the sake of economy only, it becomes imperative to increase the efficiency of the craft. In contrast to this,

the Pallus have a type of subsistence which confers on them a lot of individuality and personal economic independence. All adult members irrespective of sex, go out in the morning for wage-earning and return home after the day's toll with their individual remunerations, in terms of cash or kind, some also receive their payments on weekly and or monthly basis. Womenfolk of the *Kul* house are not usually confined to the domestic and their children assist the older members in their craft. Among the Pallus the task of the grown up children is mainly to look after the youngsters when the older members of a family are out for work.

The household is run and the family budget is controlled by womenfolk in both the cases.

#### Authority structure and the judicial machinery of Chettiar Kurumai and Pallus

The mode of social control and the authority structure among both the cases are quite similar. Hence, our analysis of them will be in a to-matter.

#### Illustrative diagram of the authority structure

1. Peripheral	Panchayatikarunam (Case headman)
2. Chettiar	Members of the (Deputy head- man)
3. Kul-taleya-vans	Members of the (Case C. ruler)
4. Kul-taleya-vans	lineage head
5. Kul-taleya-vans	lineage head
6. Kul-taleya-vans	Head of an ex- tended family

The general authority structure is hierarchical running from head of a family at the bottom to the headman of the caste at the top. Everyone of them has got his own duties and obligations to the caste. The real authorities pertaining to a caste matter are not vested in any single man rather they are infused deeply in corporate body called *Panchayat* or caste-council, which is composed of a *panchayat* or caste headman, a *chittamai* or deputy headman and all the *governors* or sub-heads of the caste. It functions in a and its jurisdiction encompasses the entire collective group the physical extension of which is co-extensive with the boundaries of Maharashtra Taluk. The *Kar* *Tatyavans* or lineage heads and the *Kudumba-Tatyavans* or family heads are not included in the caste council but stand in position whenever they are required to do so, they function outside but a subservience to it.

In the following instance we shall discuss here in detail the structure and function of each office of authority and that of the caste council later.

The *Panchayat* or caste headman is a pivotal figure in the caste structure. The status and prestige a headman enjoys, depends much upon his resource, integrity and capabilities. For instance, *Narshingar* the *Aasardi* caste headman, enjoys a position of great influence, he wields such an influence mainly due to his impeccable character and dynamic personality. He is not only strict and firm in caste matters but also equally considerate and helpful to his castemen. On the other hand, *Narsimhan*, the *Patil* caste headman enjoys icon prestige among

his castemen. He is held in score for his vacillating and indecisive nature.

Succession to the office of the caste headman is usually hereditary on the principle of male primogeniture. If a successor has not attained majority at the death of his father and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, on behalf of him the deputy caste headman may exercise the *de facto* authority provided the latter is commanded to do so by the castemen. In the absence of a male heir to succeed, the office passes on in the nearest male purvashrama and, if a suitable candidate is not available within the lineage, the privilege may be extended to any other lineage or to any other sub-*panchayat* or *governor* if the usual succession fails. But such a case has not occurred in a her-caste within five generations. A headman is liable to forfeit the office, should he deprive and disgrace his position by proving himself corrupt and openly villainous. It has never been practicable to cut a headman from his Office in either case although a section is there. Mr. Patil's predecessors *Chingrao* and *Sachinrao* did this but some seven years ago there was a move to strip off *Harshimhan*, the headman of his honour by some of the castemen, but the move was abrogated as it was quite a large number of the castemen opposed it. Mainly from the point of view of not creating a precedent. However, *Harshimhan* was reprimanded and struck out by the castemen in a general meeting. Anti-public opinion and the apprehension of reprisals serve as checks and balances on the activities of the caste headman. Anyway the

authority of the headman is not imposed from any extraneous source; obviously it emerges from within the caste for the cause of safeguarding its interest from any sort of decadence or cultural jeopardy.

The headman has had both sacred and secular functions. The sacred functions are given to the worshippers of caste tutelary deities and acts as family priest for all his castemen. He conducts all the marriage and girls pubescence ceremonies & for the caste he officiates at the ministrant rites of his castemen also. Then he also conducts the recitationary and reformatory rites in the accused persons of the caste with a view to preventing further incidence of breach of the caste norms and simultaneously excommunicating the one that has been committed. And moreover, he has the first moral in all facets of the caste group, be it marriage or obsequies, with the view to blot out the ominous qualities the may have evolved in the food.

His secular functions are equally important in nature, for he is the *ex-facto* custodian of the caste norms. He is the omniscience of the arbitrage machinery of the caste group. He is consulted and his advises are sought in regard to all matrimonial & hereditary matters of both sexes within the group, be it monogamous, or polygynous - any form and resulting out of any type of circumstance. It is he who fixes the date for and convenes the council meetings. He chairmantly presides over the council meetings and first initiates the debate and deliberations in it, by giving a short account of the matters to be discussed - it virtually determines the scene and the opinion he holds in a matter in most

often accepted. He is the treasurer of the caste fund, which accrues either from dues or from subscriptions.

The office of the deputy caste headman is filled by nomination at a general meeting of the caste group. At times a son, if found suitable, who succeeds his father on the latter's death. A deputy caste headman can be removed from his office if captured on bad conduct. Always a complete gowram-takayyer or sub-headman holds the office of the deputy caste headman. His main function is to act as an assistant or stand-bye to the headman of the caste group. Usually he carries the message from the headman to any member of the group. He also does the job of attending revelation to all the members of the group through different sub-heads in the event of any common gathering. He presides over the council meetings in the absence of the caste headman and does discharge the latter's sacred duties as well if asked to do so by the headman. Moreover he maintains the account of caste funds. The office of the Gowram-Takayyer or sub-headman is invariably ascribed to the son or other male member of the gatra or s.b. It is just like people or an electrode. For on the death of a sub-headman his next senior male member of the sub-sagrah in the former's post. Hence, the status of sub-headman enjoys an ascribed one, because ones' incapabilities are not hindrance to his succession. He is treated with courtesy and respect. He functions as a member of the caste council and reports to the caste headman if any of his sub-fellow deliberately fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations to the caste or brings dishonour to it.

In any manner he may intervene in and resolve the inheritance disputes, if there is any.

The role of the *Ku* *polygyn* or the head of a lineage group is undoubtedly very significant. He is the patriarch of his lineage group by virtue of his seniority in age, he is held in high regard, and his words are more valued. His hegemony over the *Ku* group is considered benevolent, he is a problem in disease and difficulty and a pomp and pleasure too. His control or hegemony over the lineage group does not give any scope for any member to stray from the traditional ways of life. He may effectively mediate in and resolve the intra-family and intra-family quarrels, especially those arising too often between the affins and the spouses. At times, he not only vehemently scolds but also inflicts corporal punishments on the young boys and girls of the agnatic group who resort to easy virtue. Similarly if a man or woman is found guilty of any extra-marital affair, then he who has a bear in the ordeals that may be inflicted upon by the *Ku* *polygyn*.

His opinion is highly regarded, because social control is inviolable for one who does. And if anybody behaves arrogantly with him, the latter may refuse to participate in a *hita* socio-religious ceremony.

It is the head of an extended family or the *Kshetra* *polygyn* who occupied the most authoritative position within the effective agnatic group among all other *ancestral heads*, that we have discussed so far. Although it has become a common feature now-a-days, of the *statis* to get separated from their parents sometime after their marriage,

and start their respective elementary families, but for all purposes they maintain close connections with their families of origin and, and his sort of ultimate affiliation between the brothers of orientation and parent on *Constituent* *set*. The death of his father, And after the death of the father the eldest of all the brothers takes the position of the former. Hence the *Kshetra* *polygyn* is the head of several family units which together constitute the extended family or *big family*. In a *set* under some family may include another category of senior who are one degree removed from the *clustered family* (Dubey, 1955, 356). It is incumbent upon the members of several family *set*, according to tradition to show their obedience to him. He plays an authoritative role in the domestic scene and is considerably responsible for the socialisation of the young in the line of the traditional culture pattern. He is the socio-religious and economic controller of the group comprising the *statis* in the paternal side. He distributes the girls and selects brides for the men of his group in marriage. He makes the usual offerings in the names. He is answerable to the caste for the members of his *Ku* group in the event of any breach of the caste rule.

The *Panchayatam* or the *caste council* is the *paramilitary* corporate authority which has the prerogative to punish any default with a proportionate to the point of infraction. It deals with offences relating to forbidden commensality, abstinence, sexualities or any other socio-religious matter the *caste* counter to the caste norm. The *castes* under given have

their respective code of conduct prohibits eating of certain dishes, for instance, both *Chettiar* *Janmams* as well as *Palai* prohibit acceptance of food and drink from all castes which rank lower than their own *Janmams* acceptance of cooked food from the caste home are on a par with them and partial acceptance of food as well as drink from the castes that are higher to be more abhor. And both the castes prohibit equally with a like prohibitory degree of a woman and equally condemn adultery, fornication, seduction and inter-caste liaison. The other types of cases that come before the council are refusal by a party to fulfil a marriage promise which has already been settled, considerable pecuniary nafir or refusal to send a girl to her husband's place by the father or any other guardian of the girl, ill-treatment of wife, divorce, acquiring a second wife and refusal to give due share of the property to a brother or to any other kinsman. And in other cases relating to the breach of any caste norm hitherto in vogue for instance, consulting any caste, a horary or parturition of a non-resident contrary to caste norms among the *Palai* is strictly forbidden but only *Palai* to render the service of other cases, however higher may be are duly considered.

The nature of punishment varies from case to case and in a few cases, the cases on which the *Chettiar* *Kuravars* is award an outright punishment of excommunication of the defaulter or the *Palai* at the instance of caste the defaulter corporally and then upon him/her to perform an expiatory and deterrent ceremony and then re-integrate him/her with

the caste thereafter. Thus we shall discuss later. But the usual punishments awarded by the council are (1) *dwasa* of either temporary or permanent (2) fines, (3) fees to be given to the caste-men (4) corporal punishment and (5) confinement in gaol.

In regard to the nature of punishment of the fines there is a noticeable shift between the past and the present. The past, oligarchic oligarchy is the main cause of the shift. Previously the fines that collected used to be spent on communal feast or were being equally distributed among all the sub-groups of castes. This respect to members to alcoholic drinks. But presently the amount is only expended on charitable purposes, such as, purchase of brass and copper cooking utensils, carpets and petromaxes to be used by castemen. And clothes bought out of this fund are also supplied to poor and deserving castemen (especially widows).

The shrine of god *Aliyaser* at Ayyandur is the usual venue of the *Kuravar* caste council, whereas, the venue of the *Palai* caste council is a *Tiruvor* temple. But the venue normally shifts to any other place according to convenience. But when they discuss cases regarding gross breach of caste norms, instead of going thereupon out casting, they do conduct the business of the council only in and upon the traditional judicial seat of

The members of the *Kuravar* caste council usually sit on matresses like beds or coarse carpets, because they believe that such beds are only provided to respectable persons. The *Palai* use ordinary mats. The

plaintiff the defendant and all others present, among both the cases, are supposed to sit on the ground. When a meeting of the council is in progress the members are served with betel leaves, processed lime and areca-nuts. At times they are also supplied with tea. The expenditure is either met with from the case fund or defrayed by the person who has urged the meeting of the council, as the expenditure is shared by both the plaintiff and the defendant. The proceedings of the council are not recorded only the account of the case fund is mentioned now a days.

The decision of the council is final and unquestionable. There is no appealing body which can reprove, rebuke, remit or commute the judgement passed by the council. But, at times, it so happens that the aggrieved approaches some local, prominent men of other castes with the view that the latter may influence some of his (aggrieved's) caste council members for alteration of the punishment. But the soi of extraneous moves do not succeed, because, a member who succumbs to such an influence could seldom wins away other members of the council share his point of view. Sometimes such an attempt can be detrimental for one who resorts to it, because when the matter gets publicised, the council takes serious view of such moves and, exacerbates the punishment thereof.

Eventually, the caste council is that august prescriptive body of the caste which only is vested with the authority to modify or to do away with certain caste practices, which are considered as mould and which go against the modern principles. It also becomes impor-

tive to keep pace with the dynamic world. For instance, after independence the *Patels* have adopted a resolution upholding monogamy and vegetarianism on marriage and on such other social functions, which were hitherto regarded as ceremonial items. And both the *Chavas* *Kadavas* as well as the *Patels* have strictly warned their respective castemen and women not to have birth of even a single child in the event of an abrogation between husbands. These moves are currently intended at enhancing their respective caste position, but these moves are consequent upon a new consciousness of the society after independence. However it is the post-independent regeneration that has lent a fillip to the new approach.

Apart from the caste council, there is a village committee in every village which is composed of all the caste living in the village. The headman of the village is invariably an upper caste man. The village committee is just an agreed forum of several castes to discuss matters of common concern, and to resolve their disputes if there are any. This ensures the maintenance of good neighbourly relations between different caste groups living in the village. Cases relating to payment of compensation for the damage of standing crops, repayment of loans and quarrels, especially where the protagonists are men of different castes, are referred to the village committee. The committee normally arbitrates in the disputes and rarely it pronounces any judgment. In the deliberation only the older member representatives of different caste groups living in the village participate.

In the Odisha belief-system the 'Pahar' is considered as a man in whom the divinity is incarnated. He is considered as a being superior to man. The divine powers become incarnate in him for longer or shorter periods. The practitioners of different varieties of magic on the other hand are considered as ordinary human beings, though possessed of an unusually high degree of powers. This type of magician draws his extraordinary powers from a certain psychical sympathy with nature. His whole being, body and soul is in harmony with the world forces. They are called by several names like 'Mata, Sodha, Bharmati, etc., and function as Oracles and Leechcraft practitioners. It is presumed that the magical art is generally employed for the benefit either of individuals or of the whole community. A few magical agencies like the witch or witchdoctor practice black-magic which is directed to cause disease, death, destruction and ill-fortune. The Leechcraft practitioners and oracles are supposed to practice white-magic with the view to do good to the people. There is a well regulated native regulation where the Oracle activities are learnt. The purpose of this paper

is to give a description of the Oracular activities among the Odissas.

Evans Preachard in his book 'Witchcraft among the Aztecs' (Page 9) defines oracle as the "techniques which are supposed to reveal what cannot be discovered at all, or cannot be discovered for certain, by experiment and logical inference, therefore". Further he states that they are regarded by the people as "wise and able" means of ascertaining the future and the hidden things. In his research he says "we can call the Oracles 'an opinion deemed infallible'". The function of the oracle is to search out the hidden or lost things. Even he can say the place where the stolen things are kept secretly. He can trace out the criminal and at the same time the things stolen by the criminal. If a man loses some money, cattle or ornaments, etc., he approaches the oracle who can easily tell the whereabouts of the things. Even if a lost thing is lying in a tank, the instrument which he uses for tracing out must come near the tank and stops there. This would indicate that the thing is inside the tank. However in order to find

out the hidden things some magical performances are done and at the same time some rituals are observed.

### Thinking of the Guru

A man desirous to know theacular activities of a particular Guru should be an experienced Oracle. The Guru finally selects a day when the disciple comes with two rupees to take the omra. The goddess "Kali-ma" is seated on an altar (Badi) prepared by the Guru beforehand. The disciple is expected to bring various Puja accessories, such as dhoop (incense sticks), "dhuna" incense powder, dhub grass, Odalukh (Merry gold flower) and a white chicken. When the puja materials are arranged, the Guru and the disciple sit facing each other before kali-ma. The Guru touches the hand of the disciple and whispers some incantation in the ear of the disciple. The latter, too, mutters the same spells repeatedly. Thus the byards are countered by repeated utterances. After one hour or so, the Guru starts worshshipping Kali-ma with the Puja accessories. At the end of the Puja, the white chicken is sacrificed and the blood is sprinkled over both the stone image of the goddess and the disciple. The blood is believed to be the blessing water and helps to avert the "Badi". After the puja, the Guru tells his disciple various magical processes of finding out things one after the other and finally hands over all the spells writing them on a piece of paper. These spells are indispensible while practicing theacular activities.

The disciple, after getting his blessings from the Guru, comes to his house and starts practising the course from the full-moon day of the month of Kartika.

This day is considered to be very auspicious. In a separate apartment in the vicinity of his house, he installs the image of Kali-ma. For a month, he confines himself to this room and performs Puja everyday. Dhusa but his wife is allowed into the room. She only comes at noon and at the close of the day to give food. For a month the disciple undergoes rigorous taboos such as abstinence from leaves, not to eat all sorts of pray, etc. and lives on a vegetarian diet. The regular process of spells and incantations is supposed to make him a master of the art. At the end of the month an ostentatious ritual is performed with the sacrifice of fowls.

### Nature and process of Oacular activities

The Orans believe that there are two magical processes to trace out the stolen or lost things. The first process is called "Bikar" or judgement. That means, things lost or stolen can be found out by way of judgement. Through the judgement the oracle can tell where, how and who has taken the things or the place where it is lying. The second process is called "Bahan". "Bahan" is a small horse vessel which moves itself and stops near the place where the thing is hidden. This is called 'Searching out method'. These processes also help in searching out the evil eyes.

When a man faces some loss he seeks the help of the oracle. In this case the second method is used. The oracle comes to the house of the party and cleanse a small portion of ground before the house. The ground is smeared with "Dudh-mud" (White Clay). The oracle draws various and squares on the smeared ground with charcoal. In each square there is with a small piece

of brick the names of persons who might be suspected and the places where the thing might have been kept. Then a child from the 'Tiri' clan is called by the party. The child sits on an 'Aman' and a piece of cloth is tied over its eyes. The child is hypnotised by the oracle with the repeated spells. The child moves his head and hands frantically. To check this frantic action the oracle keeps his right palm on the right hand of the child. Then the child drops his hand and touches any one of the squares. Again his hand is taken out from the square and the same process is repeated. If the child touches no same square twice, the name of the person or places written there is taken to be the required one. If the hand of the child does not touch the ground at the names and places written on the squares are declared to be cleared of suspicion. So again he writes other probable names on those squares. This process is very time-taking and the actual name comes after a number of repetitions. Finally when the name of the person or the place is known a 'Sai' Pator (Sai leaf) is spread on the ground on which a 'Duba' or 'Babu' is kept. The oracle recites mantras (incant) and drops 'Ama' rice on it. With his magical spell the 'Duba' starts moving towards the suspected place or the person. If the 'Duba' comes to a person and moves round him, he is considered to be the thief. If the stolen thing is buried under the ground or lost inside the house the 'Duba' will be seen or goes near the tank. The person concerned or the place is informed by this process.

The last method called 'Bichar' is used only when the accused is known to have left the village and remaining

in some neighbouring area. Some times the things lost like cows, bullocks, buffaloes are known by the method. The man who casts his eyes is also known. By this method 'Hera the Judgement' is told by a 'Babu' whose appearance is reflected on the digits of the fingers.

This method is considered very authentic as the pictorial appearance of the lost thing is visible. When the picture is visible the party can easily recognise the person animal or thing.

In this case also the oracle proceeds in the same manner as before. The boy from the 'Tiri' clan is called and seated on an 'Aman'. Before him an earthen picture is filled up with water is kept, above which a small strip of bamboo is used to restrain the 'Babu' when his appearance is visible. A black oily substance is applied at the top digit of the middle finger of the boy. The boy raises his hand upward showing the middle finger towards the oracle. The oracle recites mantras and it invokes 'Karma' to help him. Suddenly the 'Dua' or 'Babu' quicker comes. The man is visible at the black coated finger which seems to be transparent. The 'Babu' is threatened by the oracle with the split of bamboo to catch the actual criminal or to show the place where the stolen thing is kept. The figure gradually fades away. Just after a few minutes the actual criminal becomes visible. With the appearance of the figure the boy loses colour.

The oracle is highly revered by the people in their villages. When a man does not get the deserved output from his lands, he naturally blames the evil eye. To nullify it, he approaches the oracle, who tells him the actual causes.

The oracle can trace out the evil eyes easily. If it is due to 'decon' or dissatisfaction of the pachabular (ancestor spirits), he advises the person to worship them by giving proper sacrifice. In the case of death, the oracle is also consulted. When a man faces an unusual death, his people consult the oracle and know the cause of death. The oracle is also consulted to ascertain the reasons of barrenness of women. An oracle is very useful when a newcomer chooses a new homestead site. When a man chooses a site for constructing the house he never starts without consulting the oracle. The owner is concerned about auspicious or inauspicious nature of the place. The oracle goes to the site and scatters a small portion of the ground with scurrying. Then he keeps 'raw rice'

in three different places giving small gaps. He then covers these 'taba' (date leaf) on the rice very carefully and leaves it alone to remain through out the night. Early in the next morning he comes and examines the covered rice. If the rice is scattered the place is considered inauspicious and the house can never be constructed there, but if it remains in tact the place is declared to be auspicious.

Magic is ordinarily employed for therapeutic purposes. The distinct feature of oracular magic is that it is also employed for detection of crimes. Thus in the orion society both read a line and the oracles code of the tribe form an integrated pattern in conjunction with magic.

In less than two years the Third Five-Year Plan will close yielding place to the 4th. The ambition from plan to plan has been enlarged by increased outlay on the welfare of Backward Classes. In the 1st Five-Year Plan of Orissa was of the order of Rs. 127.18 lakhs. In the 2nd it increased to Rs. 74.60 lakhs and in the 3rd the estimated outlay is Rs. 84.67 lakhs under both State and Central Sectors. The Fourth Five-Year Plan is in the air. The total outlay is to be 100 lakhs or likely to be of a still higher order and we may expect it to be at least one and a half times of the Third Five-Year Plan outlay.

This special provision is intended a supplement to efforts which are made for the welfare of the Backward Classes out of provisions in the departmental budgets particularly

of those concerning development of Agriculture, Education, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Health and Sanitation, Industries, Housing, etc. Although in this State no earmarking has not been attempted as in Andhra Pradesh, it is intended that a suitable portion of the investment should be made for the specific benefit of the Backward Classes which would be supplemented by the special provisions. Accordingly, a substantial part of expenditure is expected to be made on this account and as stated above its size is going to increase in future.

It would not be in vain to pause for a moment to look back and also to look ahead particularly against the background of formulation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan and possibly on still future Plans by it would be

well as that content to confine our outlook to a more corporate field, i.e. Education and Employment. The sphere of economic development would be comparatively a more elusive pursuit. In 1941, the level of literacy of the Scheduled Tribes, the main wing of the Backward Classes in the State was only 1.52 per cent up to the general level of 9.70 per cent which

rose by 1961, according to the census figures, to 7.36 per cent and 7.46 per cent, respectively. By the year 1961 we were in the beginning of the Third Five-year Plan period. In the matter of employment, again the reservation of 20 per cent in Classes I and II and 50 per cent in Classes III and IV of Government services, the achievement was as below:

Year	Class I				Class II			
	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1939-40	220			634	4	0.64		
1961-62	481		0.30	2,360	0	0.00		

Year	Class III				Class IV			
	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1939-40	23,402	1,284	7.02	20,151	1,734	8.63		
1961-62	45,619	3,223	7.10	40,272	1,154	7.09		

From the available statistics it appears that among the Scheduled Tribes, the number of boys and

girls who have passed different levels of qualifying examinations was as under

Year	Madras standard	High school	Upper intermediate	Graduates
1951	2,216	1%	97	8
1961	2,459	121	70	12

The estimated number of School-going Scheduled Tribe children of different age-groups was as follows

In the year 1961-62, the number the attending school is also shown in the table --

Age-groups	Estimated No.	Per cent attending school	Percentage
0-4 Primary & Middle	39,357	100,00%	22.40
15-18 High School	295,94	1,31%	40

These figures merely confirm that there is still a vast survey to be made up by the Scheduled Tribes to come to a comparable level with the general population in the matter of education and employment. They also lend some clue as to why the Scheduled Tribes are still socially backward and economically poor and exploited. They also explain in some measure why the Scheduled Tribes have not been able to take advantage of the employment opportunities that are opening up even in their own areas. Not only small-scale industries are growing up, but some of the large scale industries on the national level are springing up at their very door step. The Rourkela Steel Factory and Fertilizer Plant, and the Aero-

engine Factory are instances of this. In the case of the the former where the construction phase is over expansion programmes hold a substantial employment potential for the skilled and semi-skilled worker. In the latter case almost the whole field awaits exploration.

The Adibasi does grow a number of oil-seeds and root crops and fruits like banana, pineapple and jack-fruits on a fairly extensive scale in some areas. He has almost the monopoly of collection of minor forest produce like amarbel, bael, gum, honey and grows Tussar and Lac in some parts. The production of crops like turmeric and ginger in the hills and dales of the Adibasi

knows it almost has birth right, monopoly. Yet, in all these days is the unenviable position of the living partner only. The trading class middlemen rob him of the produce which he has performed to part with a sum for a song at all cases. He is not able to withstand this large scale exploitation.

He clears the forests and breaks new land for cultivation & goes personal struggle and risk, but hardly ever escapes the cutting race of the man-eaters from parting with the land and finding an perpetual bondage of the latter who cleverly manipulates to get round the legal hurdles in the way of transfer of the land. The Adibas, is not able to withstand the exploitation.

He toils hard the face of man & and man made hurdles to eke out a living however meagre, but finds in the end left with almost nothing. To fight his hunger and ignorance he takes to drink, but soon falls a prey to its devastating effect. He abhors social customs, religious rituals, even economic processes to liquor and his priest supports the evil practice under religious sanctions and superstitious beliefs. The Adibas finds it impossible to withstand a ! like.

All this point to one invariable conclusion that the Adibas must come to his own, he must be able to stand on his own legs and fight the cutting and exploitation. He must realize that life is not to be lived and forever under a cloud of frustration. He must have ambition and also the ability to enjoy the fruits of his labour. He should also be able to withstand temptation of the evils of modern

life. Instances are not rare where it has been noticed that the benefits of the schemes undertaken for the economic development of the Back Ward Classes were, in others, a Ceylonese zamindar for the Veddhas a very backward tribe community of of Ceylon, a large scale resettlement scheme was put into execution. Large areas were cleared and developed for agriculture with irrigation and other facilities. The Veddha men & women given good houses to live in and the wife a plot to for cultivation by them. They earned a bumper harvest. From the land got good returns from the poultry and a each family was given to rear on modern lines. In short they had almost a transformation. But, it was noticed that in the vicinity of the settlements began to grow up Traders from the towns and cities brought with them from Ceylon and overseas to silk and soups and p-stands. The Veddhas took it or no time to be fascinated by the novelties and gadgets and in no time came wealth flowed to the traders' chest. They became indebted others and started managing their lands. The impact of modern life appeared to break the apparent prosperity of the Veddha. This attracted the attention of the administrators and social workers and as a result a study of the problem was undertaken being sponsored by the UNESCO. This is a concrete instance in the field of welfare works for backward people to illustrate how a micro-economic programme may not yield the desired result. It has to be a comprehensive programme, and perhaps equal or greater emphasis on building up the cultural and mental awareness would be necessary.

We have embarked upon programmes of Backward Classes welfare, and as stated above the successive plans are designed to put in increasing outlet for that. Here in our State the heat of the burden for execution of the schemes is borne by two agencies, viz., (i) the Local Bodies or the Panchayati Raj institutions, and (ii) the Government agency. We are still lacking the non-official agency. The opinion is sometimes expressed that in the case of the more backward tribes the traditional tribal council should take the place of the statutory Local Bodies. It has been noticed that in some cases the elected representatives being illiterate and uninformed are not taking any interest in the work of the Panchayats or are operating as mere beneficiaries of the few clever and cunning non-tribal members who are holding the key positions in the Panchayats. But there are also cases where not the traditional, e.g., social and religious leaders, but young active and popular persons, have been chosen and they are seen to be comparatively less amenable to serve the second fiddle. It may be putting the clock back to replace the statutory by the traditional councils.

We are thus left with the two agencies of the Local Bodies with elected representatives, and the Government staff to handle the execution of the schemes. To get the desired result three things are necessary, so that the representatives, and bureaucracy can function in the right direction and right spirit and with efficiency.

Finally, the representatives in the Panchayati Raj institutions, particularly the Gram Panchayat and

Panchayati Samiti must receive intensive training in the organisation and functioning of the Panchayati Raj and execution and supervision of schemes for the welfare of the Backward Classes. They should believe in the measures adopted for this purpose and in respect of schemes practise a few of them according to their inclination and preference. They should know the programmes intimately and show by example that the schemes are worth execution. One may show that in respect of horticulture, and poultry rearing, but all must emphasize the programmes of education and training. They will have to take keen interest in the village school and all educational and social education programmes. In order to enable them to do so they shall have to be given the opportunity of training and education. This is the first essential.

Secondly, the Government officials who have the responsibility of execution starting from the Village Level Worker of the Block must know the tribal background and must be trained in the proper approach to the Backward Classes. They, at least some of them, have a rich heritage of culture and outstanding qualities of forbearance, and a sense of independence and lack of complex. They have their own sense of values which they respect in society. The workers have to understand all that and approach them in the proper manner and spirit. In some cases the tribes do not understand much of the local language. Contact with them for one who does not know their dialect is possible only through the local non-tribal who

usually exploit them. It is, therefore, necessary for the workers to have a good working knowledge of tribal language of the areas. This will enable them to win their confidence which is essentially necessary for successful implementation of the schemes. Like the representatives on the Local Bodies, these workers also should not only have clear grasp of the details of schemes, and they should also set example by practising them as far as practicable to impress that they believe in the schemes for the welfare of the Backward Classes and also that they are productive of good results.

Thirdly, the Government employees who are entrusted with the execution of schemes for the welfare of Backward Classes should be given encouragement and opportunity to work wholeheartedly for the success of the schemes. On the other hand the Block and other staff when they are posted to such areas usually take it as an undesirable act and they are anxious to get away from there. Since they are cut off from common amenities of life they deserve to be suitably compensated in the shape of special allowance, special consideration for promotion and posting after a suitable period of service in the backward area. This is the third essential.

**IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL & RURAL WELFARE  
DEPARTMENT DURING THE QUARTER ENDING  
THE 31ST MARCH 1964**

*Administrative set up*

Shri B. G. Rao Patnaik, I.A.S., assumed the charge of the office of the Secretary, Tribal & Rural Welfare Department and Director, Tribal Research Bureau, with effect from the 22nd February 1964. A temporary gazetted post of Special Officer, Tribal Art and Culture, in the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department in the scale of Rs. 500-900 has been created for one year, with effect from the 1st March 1964 to the 28th February 1965 for reorientation of tribal dance, drama and music in the State.

*Education*

During the quarter under review 523 Scheduled Tribe students, 677 Scheduled Caste students and 380 Other Backward Class students were awarded Post Matric Scholarships. An amount of Rs. 12,73,557 was spent for the purpose.

With a view to watch the progress of general education and other activities of the students residing in the Ashram Schools, monthly examination in different subjects has been introduced on the lines adopted in Public Schools. It has also been decided to maintain monthly progress chart in respect of each student. These charts will indicate their progress in general education and their conduct in school and hostel and behaviour with fellow students, teachers and outsiders.

*Economic Uplift*

In view of increase in the cost of building materials the State Government moved Government of India to enhance the rate of subsidy for construction of houses for Scheduled Tribes from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,250. Government of India have agreed to raise the upper limit of the subsidy to Rs. 1,600 out of which 75 per cent will be borne by Government and the balance will be contributed by the beneficiaries in shape of labour.

*Miscellaneous*

(i) A seminar on employment, education and training of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes was convened at New Delhi from the 30th January 1964 to the 2nd February 1964. The Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare, Director and Special Officer attended the conference.

The twelfth meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 29th February 1964 under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister. The following important subjects were discussed:—

- (1) Classification of Scheduled Tribes in Orissa
- (2) Reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in various services.

- (3) To make more stringent the existing rules prohibiting transfer of immovable property by Tribals to non-tribals.
- (4) Restriction on non-tribals engaged in Poda cultivation.
- (5) Reorganisation of field staff of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department.
- (6) Payment of scholarship to all Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste students reading in various educational institutions.

A conference of District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officers and regional Deputy Directors of Grama Panchayat and Tribal Welfare was also held at Bhubaneswar on the 9th February 1964 and 10th February 1964, under the Chairmanship of Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare.

The following important subjects were discussed:—

- (1) Timely distribution of scholarship and reading and writing materials.
- (2) Repair to Sevashram buildings.
- (3) Progress of Orchard Scheme introduced in Ashram School.
- (4) Clearance of D. C. Bills.

The second meeting of the Advisory Board of Tribal Research Bureau was held on 9th March 1964 with the Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare in the Chair. The Board recommended a scheme for expansion of the Research Bureau. A comprehensive plan for the culture survey of the most backward tribal areas was also prepared by the Board.

(b) The pavilion set up by the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department within the premises of Industrial Exhibition during last plenary session of the All-India National Congress at Bhubaneswar occupied first place in respect of decoration and display. The life and culture of tribals depicted in a large number of diagrams and exhibition of their material culture and life-size photographs were the greatest attractions of the whole exhibition.